FBIS DAILY REPORT

CONTENTS

Eastern Europe

Vol II No 093 *14 May 1985*

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

Pact Members Celebrate Anniversary of Signing AA 1
Delegates Arrive in Budapest [Budapest] AA 1
Faluvegi Opens Ceremony [Budapest] AA 1
Czinege Speaks [Budapest] AA 2
Commanders of Pact History Institutes Convene [Warsaw] AA 4

ALBANIA

AFP: King Leka I Sees Problems for Alia B 1

BULGARIA

Zhivkov, Officials Discuss Plovdiv Fair C 1
Antonov Case Called Political Provocation C 1
Balev-Led Delegation Returns From FRG 13 May C 2

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Soviet Ambassador Hosts Reception in Prague [Bratislava PRAVDA 8 May] D 1
Husak, Strougal Praise Tikhonov's Contributions D 1
Communique on Visit of Nicaragua's Ortega [Bratislava PRAVDA 8 May] D 2
Defense Minister Addresses Assembly Committees [Bratislava PRAVDA 8 May] D 4
Unleaded Gas Production Schedule Through 1990 [RUDE PRAVO 8 May] D 5
Central Committee Secretary Leaves for USSR D 6
USSR's Col Gen Yermakov Meets CPCZ's Kapek [Bratislava PRAVDA 8 May] D 6

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Demichev Arrives for Soviet Days of Culture in GDR E 1
Welcomed by Hager E 1
Meets Honecker E 1
Stoph, Demichev Attend Concert E 1
Hager Comments on Ties E 2
Demichev Speaks on Cooperation E 2
Grishin, Delegation Meet With Berlin SED Leaders E 3
Hoffmann Meets Cuban Army Political Official E 3
DER SPIEGEL Speculates on Fischer Replacement [13 May] E 3

HUNGARY

Banks Plan To Increase Range of Services F 1
Visit by Bulgarian Finance Minister Summarized F 1
Varkonyi To Attend Austrian Treaty Anniversary F 1
Sciences Academy Elects President, Officials F 1
Leaders Send Message to Soviets on Anniversary F 2
[MAGYAR HIRLAP 9 May]

POLAND

19th PZPR CC Plenum on Intelligentsia Begins G 1
Importance of Intelligentsia G 1
Remuneration of Intelligentsia G 1
Political Obligations Discussed G 2
Intelligentsia's Role G 2
Porebski on Frustrations, Role of Intelligentsia G 4
[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY]
Leaders' Message to Soviet Leaders on Anniversary G 5
[TRYBUNA LUDU 9 May]
Jaruzelski, IAEA Director General Hold Talks G 6
Lis, Frasyniuk, Michnik Trial To Begin 23 May [AFP] G 6
Jablonski Speech to 4 May War Veterans Congress G 7
[RZECZPOSPOLITA 6 May]
Defense Minister's Order for VE Anniversary G 10
Jablonski VE Speech Emphasizes Gratitude to USSR G 10
Resolution Defines Tasks of Social Control Organ G 12
Interior Minister's Accountability Report to Sejm G 13

ROMANIA

Festive Meeting Marks CSSR Liberation Anniversary H 1
[SCINTEIA 7 May]

YUGOSLAVIA

Djuranovic on Economy, Security Situation I 1
[POLITIKA 30 Apr, 1-2 May]
Biography of Incoming President Vlajkovic I 5
Number of Work Stoppages Highest in 5 Years I 6
Serbia LC Commission Discusses Nationalism I 6

PACT MEMBERS CELEBRATE ANNIVERSARY OF SIGNING

Delegates Arrive in Budapest

LD131720 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 13 May 85

[Text] Representatives of the parliaments of the Warsaw Pact member-states have arrived in Budapest to attend a 3-day meeting being held on the 30th anniversary of the signing of the Warsaw Pact. The delegations were welcomed at Ferihegy Airport by Istvan Sarlos, member of the MSZMP Politburo, chairman of the National Assembly.

The Soviet delegation is headed by Lev Tolkunov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Avgust Voss, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, member of the Central Committee. The Bulgarian delegation is headed by Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly and member of the Central Committee; the Czechoslovak delegation by Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Federal Assembly; the Polish delegation by Stanislaw Gucwa, marshal of the Sejm; the GDR delegation by Gerald Goetting, vice president of the State Council and the People's Chamber and chairman of the CDU; and the Romanian delegation by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Office of the Grand National Assembly and member of the RCP Central Committee.

Faluvegi Opens Ceremony

LD131837 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 13 May 85

[Text] A festive commemoration ceremony has commenced at the Vig Theater on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the signing of the Warsaw Pact. We now give you our reporter Geza Foldvari:

[Foldvari, reporting from theater] The last bars of the national anthem were heard just a few moments ago and Deputy Prime Minister Lajos Faluvegi has just started to speak.

[Faluvegi's voice heard in background] It will be 30 years tomorrow since leaders of the European socialist countries signed in the Polish capital the Warsaw Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance, thus creating a defensive alliance, an alliance which, on the emergence of a general European collective security agreement, will lose its validity. This was stated in the founding document on 14 May 1955. Lajos Faluvegi is now greeting the guests and the members of the party and government Karoly Nemeth, MSZMP deputy general secretary; Istvan Sarlos, president of the National Assembly and member of the MSZMP Politburo; Imre Katona, secretary of the Presidential Council; Istvan Olah, minister of defense; several members of the government; and leaders of the delegations of the Warsaw Pact attending this Budapest meeting.

An anniversary of 30 years ago is being commemorated by all those who turned up on the eve of the jubilee here at the Vig Theatre, venue of many splendid performances and memorable festive occasions. The auditorium of the theater is packed with ceremony participants and from here, the balcony given over to the radio crews, guests and heads of the parliamentary delegations are clearly visible. Dear listeners, I now give you the speaker:

[Faluvegi, speaking live; in progress] I greet Comrade Stanislaw Gucwa, marshal of the Sejm of the PPR; Comrade Gerald Goetting, vice president of the People's Chamber and vice president of the GDR State Council; Comrade Nicolae Giosan, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP and chairman of the Office of the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Comrade Lev Nikolayevich Tolkunov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Soviet of the Union

of the USSR Supreme Soviet; Comrade Avgust Edvardovich Voss, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Soviet of the Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet; Comrade Colonel General Nikolay Kuzmich Silchenko, representative in Hungary of the Joint Supreme Command of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces; Comrade Colonel General Konstantin Alekseyevich Kochetov, commander of the Southern Army Group temporarily stationed in Hungary. I greet the members of the MSZMP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers, and representatives of the social organization and the Armed Forces. [applause after each name mentioned] I welcome the members of the diplomatic corps and our guests from Hungary and abroad. [applause]

Dear lady comrades, dear comrades: This spring is full of noteworthy anniversaries. It is barely 1 month ago that the Hungarian people celebrated their greatest national red-letter day, that of the 40th anniversary of their liberation. During these past days the part of humanity wishing for peace and the progressive organizations of the world commemorated the anniversary of the victory over fascism, which was of historic significance. At this commemorative meeting, we recall that our fraternal socialist countries signed 3 decades ago the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance, which was the Warsaw Pact. This agreement fulfilled and fulfills its historic mission. We learned during the past decades that it was not enough to wish for peace because peace must be defended. And we also learned that we have to strive for a better life, as well as for a more secure life. For all this a stable economic background is also needed. We say with conviction...

[Foldvari, interrupting] Dear listeners. As I have already said, the festive commemoration started at exactly 1900. Deputy Prime Minister Jozsef Faluvegi's opening speech will be followed shortly by the festive address. The festive address will be delivered by our deputy prime minister, Lajos Czinege, and we shall give you a detailed account of this in the 2200 newscast. I now return you to the studio.

Czinege Speaks

LD132207 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 13 May 85

[Excerpts] The 30th anniversary of the establishment of the Warsaw Pact has been commemorated at a festive meeting in Budapest. The festive session at the Vig Theatre was attended by the delegations of the parliaments of the Warsaw Pact member-states that arrived in Budapest earlier today.

Geza Foldvari reports from the festive meeting at the Vig Theater.

[Foldvari] The festive commemoration was attended by Karoly Nemeth, deputy general secretary of the party; Istvan Sarlos, chairman of the National Assembly -- both members of the Politburo; Imre Katona, secretary of the Presidential Council; several government members and the heads of the delegations that arrived in Budapest to attend the meeting of representatives of the parliaments of the Warsaw Pact member-states.

The festive session was opened by Deputy Premier Lajos Faluvegi and he was followed by Deputy Premier Lajos Czinege. In his festive speech the speaker praised the Warsaw Pact, now 30 years old, and then had this to say, i.a.:

[Begin Czinege recording] The activities of the Warsaw Pact during its time of existence, which amounts to the period of a generation, are already sufficient to enable us to draw up a valid balance sheet of the organization. If we compare the objectives formulated at the time the pact was concluded with the events of the ensuing 30 years and with the situation that has evolved at present, we can then note with satisfaction that our joint political-defense organization has always fulfilled and fulfills its mission in accordance with the requirements formulated in its basic principles. It guarantees and ensures the tranquillity of our socialist construction work, provides the appropriate external conditions for the building of socialism, and has undying merits in the safeguarding of peace. This applies not only to the military, but also to the political context because in the international activities of the Warsaw Pact, from the very beginning, exemplary political initiative and goodwill have been the primary and decisive factors.

The cohesive and coordinated foreign political activities of the socialist countries, the increasing economic weight and political prestige of our countries, and the quantitative development and qualitative change of the defense capability of the Warsaw Pact have all played a decisive part in the shaping of the international situation.

The fact that by the end of the sixties a relative balance of forces had been established between the Warsaw Pact and NATO -- between the USSR and the United States -- is a historic achievement of ours in this process. It was on this soil that there developed an era of history which we call the period of establishment and intensification of dialogue between the two world systems and of the adoption of peaceful coexistence. It was during that time that we could witness the lessening of tension and the coming to the forefront of more sober voices and attitudes in the politics of the Western states.

All this provided favorable conditions for the realization of the initiatives of the USSR and the countries of the Warsaw Pact in the organization of the Helsinki summit conference and for the formulation of a Final Act that contained in itself the possibility for establishing lasting detente in Europe.

It was clear, however, to the countries of the Warsaw Pact that the spirit of Helsinki could only last and would only have durable achievements if detente could also be asserted in the military field. It is without doubt that the spirit of Helsinki can be felt even today. It has provided and is providing opportunities in many areas for the maintenance and expansion of relations, and for mutually learning disparate opinions and ideas. At the same time, it is a sad fact that Helsinki was not followed by a process of detente in the military field. On the contrary, in the past years unfavorable trends grew in strength in the international arena as a consequence of extremist imperialist circles designating as their goal the upsetting of the military balance that has arisen between the Warsaw Pact and NATO and the gaining of military superiority.

One of the dangerous practical manifestations of this was the approval by the NATO Council of an unparalleled armament program in the spring of 1978. Dear lady comrades and comrades: The halt in detente did not occur through a fault of ours, through a shortcoming of the forces of socialism and progress, no matter how much the bourgeois propaganda machinery with its well known fabrications, rhetoric, anf falsification is eager to try to prove it. The member-states of the Warsaw Pact, urged on by their responsibility to our peoples and to mankind, approach the solution of the contradictions and tensions of international affairs with the intention of obtaining a settlement through peaceful negotiations.

As always, since the conclusion of World War II now, and in the future as well, we take a united stand against the endeavours of extremist imperialist circles aimed at obtaining world supremacy. We take a sober and constructive stand. We confront the arms race resolutely and consistently. We state with unchanged conviction that disputed international issues must be and can be resolved not by weapons but at the negotiating table. There is only one alternative to the immeasurable forces of destruction: peaceful coexistence of countries of different social systems based on mutual understanding and respect of each others' interests. The convincing proof of the honest intentions of the member-states of the Warsaw Pact are the series of peace initiatives and unilateral confidence-strengthening measures of the USSR, as well as the proposals placed on the table of NATO in the past years by the political consultative body of the Warsaw Pact. [end recording]

[Foldvari] Lajos Czinege then went on to recall the initiatives that proved that the member-states of the Warsaw Pact did not consider the unfavorable processes irreversible despite the tensions that exist. At the same time, the circumstances that justified the establishment of this defensive alliance 30 years ago still exist today. This is why the pact had to be extended.

[Begin Czinege recording] The character of the Warsaw Pact has not changed and it will not change in the future either. Its ideas, aims, and intentions are exactly the same as those forged by the socialist countries participating in the pact 30 years ago when they were led by the goal of defending peace and progress. The real facts of the current international situation prescribe the obligation that we should not give an inch in the defense of our socialist achievements and the preservation of world peace. Thus the defensive characteristic of the Warsaw Pact remains unaltered for the coming 30 years. Its openness remains. Unchanged in its validity is the proposal of the member-states on the simultaneous dismantling of the Warsaw Pact and NATO. The division of Europe into military blocs does not, therefore, depend on us. It is up to those who can only think and who only want to act in terms of blocs, expansion, armament, and aggression. Against them, for the prevention of their goals, we struggle in our common political defensive organization, in unison with the increasingly powerful forces of peace and social progress, so that in the arena of international politics detente should again be the determining factor, so that this should be asserted in the military field as well, so that the balance is maintained at the lowest possible level of armament.

Esteemed festive gathering: The Hungarian People's Republic was always faithful, and remains faithful, to the basic principles of our alliance, in the realization of which our common defensive organization serves the joint defense of the socialist alliance by providing, at the same time, the assertion of the national interests of the member-states, and consequently the assertion of our national interests. It is our conviction that our efforts will also contribute to the endeavors to return to the greatly desired directions of dialogue, peaceful coexistence, and international detente. Only bringing these to the fore can create the conditions for a collective European security. Only this can guarantee a durable peace for the peoples of East and West in which they can devote the fruits of their labor entirely to their increased welfare and to their social progress. [end recording]

COMMANDERS OF PACT HISTORY INSTITUTES CONVENE

LD132014 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 13 May 85

[Text] On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact an annual meeting of the commanders of military history institutes of Warsaw Pact states has opened in Warsaw. Military and civilian scholars will exchange experience and present results of research into the achievements of the socialist defensive coalition and its achievements in the political, military, and economic sphere and the peaceful initiatives serving the cause of ensuring security for Poland and peace in Europe.

AFP: KING LEKA I SEES PROBLEMS FOR ALIA

AU140814 Paris AFP in English 0803 GMT 14 May 85

[Claudine Canetti report]

[Text] Paris, May 14 (AFP) -- The pretender to the throne of Albania, King Leka I, expects the new leadership to have problems establishing its authority after the lengthy rule of the late Enver Hoxha, and does not exclude possible Soviet military intervention.

Leka I said in an exclusive interview that Albania was faced by a dangerous period as there was no certainty that the new leader, Ramiz Alia, would manage to master the various trends in the ruling democratic front (communist) party.

He said he did not rule out coup d'etat in Tirana to overthrow Mr. Alia once he tried to implement his own policies, in which case the Soviet Union would be "invited" into the country and it would be turned into another Afghanistan.

Leka I, the son of King Zog, was born in Tirana in April 1939 only two days before Italy invaded the country. The late King Zog was officially deposed in his absence in January 1946. On his death, Leka was proclaimed king by Albania exiled royalist circles.

In Paris hoping to meet a member of the French Government, Leka said that if Mr. Alia managed to consolidate his authority, then he would face internal pressure to liberalise the iron Albanian regime, and this would in turn cause further problems because such a move, he believed, would run out of control, leading to riots.

Leka's two priorities are a national referendum on what kind of government to have, including the restoration of the monarchy, and the eventual reunification of greater Albania, which would include the Yugoslav autonomous region of Kosovo.

We have no intention of quarrelling with Yugoslavia because this would give the Soviet Union the opportunity of intervening in a bid to reach the Mediterranean." [Quotation marks as received]

"Nevertheless we believe that Belgrade should agree to discuss the future of Kosovo."

Albanian militants in the autonomous region of Kosovo do not want to join communist Albania, but to be granted the status of a full republic, within the Yugoslav federation, like Croatia, Slovenia or Macedonia. Belgrade has refused to do so.

Leka I came to Paris in the hope of discussing the Balkan problems with a French Government official.

His visit coincides with the publication of the French edition of "The Great Betrayal" by Lord Bethell which recalls the British and United States bid in 1949-52 to overthrow Enver Hoxha. Albanian commandos landed in Albania unaware they had been betrayed by British spy master Kim Philby and almost all were wiped out.

ZHIVKOV, OFFICIALS DISCUSS PLOVDIV FAIR

AU131822 Sofia BTA in English 1745 GMT 13 May 85

[Text] Plovdiv, May 13 (BTA) -- Today's meeting of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP with leaders of ministries and organizations which took part in the Fifth Plovdiv Spring Fair made a profound analysis both of the successes and of the unused possibilities. The meeting was attended by members of the State Council and the government.

Summing up the results of the fair, Mr. Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade, stressed the general impression of the Bulgarian and foreign participants, that this has been the best Plovdiv Spring Fair so far. Contracts to the tune of more than 1 milliard [billion] foreign currency leva have been signed, as well as new long-term agreements for market and production cooperation. The fact that a number of leading firms seek trade and production cooperation with Bulgarian partners and show a marked willingness and interest in lasting cooperation with them gives grounds for satisfaction.

In his speech Mr. Todor Zhivkov pointed out that good results have been achieved in the production of consumer goods in the period following the Ruse session of May, 1980, an eloquent proof of this are the exhibitions of the economic organisations at this year's fair.

The first party and state leader also stressed that the formulations of the plenary session of the CC of the BCP held in February, 1985 also refer to the production and trade in consumer goods. Dwelling on the forthcoming tasks he stressed the necessity to fully and adequately use the possibilities of Bulgaria's large material basis through the achievements of the techno-scientific revolution. It is necessary to decisively raise the organisation of the production and trade and the complex satisfying of the needs of the people at the level of their purchasing power should be achieved Mr. Todor Zhivkov said.

ANTONOV CASE CALLED POLITICAL PROVOCATION

AU130915 Sofia BTA in English 0541 GMT 13 May 85

[Text] Sofia, May 13 (BTA) -- "The Bulgarian National Committee in Defence of Sergey Antonov expresses the unanimous conviction of the Bulgarian people that the Bulgarian nationals to be brought to trial in Rome are absolutely innocent and that the accusations against the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the other socialist countries of complicity in the crime perpetrated in St Peter's Square in Rome are absolutely groundless, Prof Boris Spasov, corresponding member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences writes in the VECHERNI NOVINI daily. Prof Boris Spasov, who is the chairman of the National Committee in Defence of Sergey Antonov, stresses that the investigation in Rome which continued for more than two years (this fact alone should deem it discredited) was accompanied by other circumstances which give grounds for the conclusion that the accusation against the Bulgarian citizens is not based on juridical arguments and considerations but is a political provocation.

According to the Italian criminal judicature, Prof Spasov points out, in order to accuse a citizen and bring him to trial it is necessary to have "sufficient proofs" of his guilt. But in this case it is obvious that in spite of the two-year long investigation, such proofs have not been found. And the so-called "elements of proofs" are solely the slanderous allegations of Mehmet Ali Agca, member of the "Grey Wolves" Turkish fascist organisation, whose lies were many times exposed by Investigating Magistrate Dr. Martella himself - Agca lied, changed his initial evidence, renounced it himself and confessed that he was lying more than 50 times, the Bulgarian jurist writes.

Prof. Spasov notes that the Bulgarian public feels obliged to defend the Bulgarian citizens who are to be brought to trial and at the same time to defend the honour and the sacred name of Bulgaria, vilified by Agca. "Agca's allegation were taken up by a rather shady choir of slanderers, representatives of various reactionary circles in the Western world mainly connected with the U.S. CIA, some of whom acted in the disguise of journalists".

Dwelling on the initiatives of the democratic public in a number of countries in defence of the defamed Bulgarian nationals, Prof Spasov writes that the first press conference of the neutral commission for studying and information in connection with the "Antonov case", organised by the International Association of the Democratic Lawyers last October, will be held [words indistinct].

"I am convinced that the very first findings of this commission will draw the curtains to such an extent so as to show the true colours of the organizers of the crime and the groundlessness of the accusations against the Bulgarians", Prof Spasov writes. "And there is only one truth", he adds, "Bulgaria and her nationals have nothing to do with the attempt on the life of Pople John Paul II. Regardless of who the author and the perpetrator of the crime may be, it aimed among other things, at vilifying the socialist community".

Prof Spasov informs that Committees of Jurists in Defence of Sergei Antonov have been set up in Finland, Mexico, the FRG, Portugal and other countries.

He notes that although in the beginning the anti-Bulgarian wave predominated in the Western press, recently more and more sober voices are being raised which correctly and impartially assess the allegations of the so-called "Bulgarian connection" and with good reason come to the conclusion that such a connection does not exist and that the myth about it is a political provocation.

BALEV-LED DELEGATION RETURNS FROM FRG 13 MAY

AU131941 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 13 May 85

[Text] On 13 May a delegation of the BCP led by Comrade Milko Balev, which visited the FRG at the invitation of the German SPD, returned to Bulgaria. The announcement on the visit points out that during the talks the delegation held with Willy Brandt, Hans Joachim Vogel, Johannes Rauch, Hans-Juergen Wischniewski, Egon Bahr, and other SPD officials special attention was devoted to the issues of peace, security, and disarmament. The representatives of the two parties expressed stands on adopting immediate, concrete, and effective measures to decrease international tension and stop the arms race.

The two parties support the limitation and reduction of all kinds of weapons, especially nuclear ones, and a general ban on all experiments with nuclear weapons, adhere to the idea of creating nuclear-free zones in Europe and freeing the European Continent from chemical and other mass destruction weapons, and oppose the militarization of space.

It is noted with satisfaction that regardless of differences on some issues, the opinions of the two parties are identical or close on a broad range of topical and vital international issues.

The BCP and the SPD expressed their mutual readiness and willingness to further expand their bilateral contacts, as well as relations between Bulgaria and the FRG in various areas.

SOVIET AMBASSADOR HOSTS RECEPTION IN PRAGUE

AU091326 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 May 85 p 1

[Text] Prague (CTK) -- Yesterday Viktor Lomakin, the USSR's ambassador to the CSSR, hosted a festive reception in Prague on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the defeat of Hitlerite fascism.

It was attended by Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president; by Lubomir Strougal, CSSR premier; and by other CPCZ Central Committee Presidium members: Vasil Bilak, Peter Colotka, Karel Hoffmann, Alois Indra, Antonin Kapek, Josef Kempny, Josef Korcak, and Jozef Lenart; by candidate members of the CPCZ Central Committee: Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, and Miloslav Hruskovic; by CPCZ Central Committee secretaries: Mikulas Beno, Josef Havlin, Frantisek Pitra, and Jindrich Polednik; and by members of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat: Zdenek Horeni and Marie Kabrhelova.

The guests also included heads of CPCZ Central Committee departments; deputy chairmen and ministers of the governments of the CSSR and the Czech SR; leading figures of the CSSR's Frederal Assembly, of the Czech National Council, and of the bodies, political parties, and social organizations of the National Front; generals of the Czechoslovak People's Army; and other personages of our political, public, and cultural life.

Members of the USSR's party and government delegations were also present; they were headed by Vladimir Dolgikh, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and CPSU Central Committee secretary. Those present included a delegation of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Contacts With Abroad and of the central leadership of the Society of Soviet-Czechoslovak Friendship, lead by Nikolay Sychov, first deputy chairman of the central leadership of the Society of Soviet-Czechoslovak Friendship, and members of the delegations of other fraternal socialist countries who arrived for the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation fight of the Czechoslovak people and the liberation of our fatherland by the Soviet Army.

The reception was also attended by a delegation of the Soviet Army, headed by Army General Vitaliy Shabanov, USSR deputy minister of defense; by Colonel General Ivan Voloshin, senior representative of the commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces attached to the CSSR's Ministry of National Defense; and by Colonel General Viktor Yermakov, commander of the Soviet Central Group of Forces in the CSSR.

Members of the Prague diplomatic corps were also present.

The reception was held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

HUSAK, STROUGAL PRAISE TIKHONOV'S CONTRIBUTIONS

LD131897 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 13 May 85

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the Republic, has sent a letter of congratulations to Nikolay Aleksandrovich Tikhonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, on the occasion of his 80th birthday.

Comrade Gustav Husak, writing on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, all Czechoslovak people and himself, highly praises the fruitful party and state activity of Comrade Tikhonov, an outstanding representative of the CPSU and the Soviet state, who has devoted his entire life to the struggle for realizing the great ideas of Leninism, implementing the heritage of the Great October, and working for the development of the Soviet state and the well-being of the Soviet people.

The letter goes on to underline the long-term brilliant activity of Comrade Tikhonov in the foremost ranks of the CPSU and the office of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, which is inseparably connected with the historical successes of the USSR in constructing an advanced socialist society, and in the struggle for peace and progress in the world. In his letter Comrade Gustav Husak expresses great appreciation for Nikolay Tokhonov's great contribution to strengthening internationalist unity and deepening cooperation of the states of the socialist community. He praises his cordial stance toward the CPCZ and the Czechoslovak working people and his important personal contribution to strengthening Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship and alliance. At the same time he congratulated him on receiving the Klement Gottwald Order for his outstanding merits, and wished him new successes in his responsible work and good health and happiness in personal life in the future.

Lubomir Strougal, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and federal premier, has also sent a letter of congratulations -- on behalf of the federal government and himself -- to Nikolay Aleksandrovich Tikhonov on his important life jubilee.

The letter praises Nikolay Tikhonov's long-term selfless activity in responsible party and state offices and his profound devotion to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism and to the struggle of the working class in the fight against fascism, for the preservation of world peace, and the happiness of the Soviet people. Comrade Lubomir Strougal also expressed the conviction that the deep and historically tested ties between the two states and the nations of the CSSR and the USSR would continue to broaden and deepen in line with the wishes and interests of the peoples of the two countries -- we recall these ties with respect and love particularly in this year of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the CSSR by the Soviet Army.

COMMUNIQUE ON VISIT OF NICARAGUA'S ORTEGA

AU091330 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 May 85 pp 1, 7

["Joint Czechoslovak-Nicaraguan Communique"]

[Text] A delegation of the Republic of Nicaragua, led by Daniel Ortega, president of the republic and member of the National Directorate of the Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN], stayed in the CSSR for a friendly working visit on 6-7 May at the invitation of Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president.

The Nicaraguan delegation laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier on Zizkov Hill and bowed to the memory of Klement Gottwald, the first worker president of the Czechoslovak Republic. The delegation visited Lidice, where it paid tribute to the victims of atrocities perpetrated by Hitlerite fascism by laying wreaths. Gustav Husak presented the top Nicaraguan representative and the other members of the delegation with commemorative medals on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the Czechoslovak people's national liberation fight and of the CSSR's liberation by the Soviet Army. On that occasion, Daniel Ortega expressed cordial congratulations to all Czechoslovak people in this significant anniversary.

The two delegations carried out talks that were attended on the Czechoslovak side by: Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, as head of the delegation; Lubomir Strougal, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR premier; Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary; Rudolf Rohlicek, CSSR deputy premier; Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs; Karel Rusov, CSSR first deputy minister of national defense; Milan Klusak, minister of culture in the Czech SR; and Radoslav Klein, deputy head of the CPCZ Central Committee Department for International Policy.

The Nicaraguan delegation was composed of: Daniel Ortega, president of the Republic of Nicaragua and member of the FSLN National Directorate, head of the delegation; Rosario Murillo, secretary general of the Sandinist Association of Culture; Henry Ruiz, member of the FSLN National Directorate and minister for foreign cooperation; Miguel D'Escoto, minister of foreign affairs; Joaquin Cuadra, deputy minister of defense; Jacinta Sueroz, ambassador of the Republic of Nicaragua to the USSR; and Aquiles Centeno Perez, ambassador of the Republic of Nicaragua to the CSSR. In an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding, the two delegations briefed each other on the political and economic situation in their countries, and stressed that relations between the CSSR and the Republic of Nicaragua are developing successfully, on the foundations of friendship, equality, and noninterference in internal affairs; they also discussed the possibilities of further deepening all-round mutual cooperation.

Comrade Gustav Husak expressed high appreciation for the heroism of Nicaragua's people, who are devotedly and assiduously defending the achievements of the Sandinist revolution face-to-face with the undeclared war conducted with active U.S. participation, and with the escalating political and economic pressure and extortion on the part of the United States, which has culminated in the declaration of the trade embargo and of other sanctions against Nicaragua. On behalf of the CSSR, he unambiguously condemned this step, which contravenes the elementary principles of international law and the UN Charter, and which is yet another demonstration of an abuse of force against a small, independent country, the people of which expressed in free elections their full confidence in the Sandinist government and in its program of the country's development.

Daniel Ortega stressed the significance of the support granted by the CSSR to his country in the fight for preserving its independence and sovereignty; and he expressed high appreciation for the CSSR's principled peaceful foreign policy aimed at achieving a peaceful and just solution to the problems existing in international relations.

The two delegations exchanged opinions on the basic problems of the current international situation, and agreed that the responsibility for the existence of tension in the world is borne by the most reactionary forces of imperialism, above all, the United States. At the same time, they stated that the antiwar peace forces are steadily growing, they are actively opposing the policy of militarism and aggression, and they demand that the process of detente be continued.

They expressed the conviction that the most important task is to avert a nuclear war and to prevent the militarization of outer space. In this connection they welcomed the Geneva talks between the USSR and the United States on the entire complex of issues concerning nuclear and space arms, and they expressed the conviction that a serious U.S. approach to the USSR's proposals could make it possible to prevent a transfer of armament into space and to halt armament on earth, as well as to reduce the strength of nuclear arms.

The two sides expressed the opinion that the ultimate goal of endeavors undertaken by all states must be the ban on and elimination of nuclear arms and a general and total disarmament under effective international control. At the same time, they consider it important that those nuclear powers that have so far not done so, commit themselves to not being the first to use nuclear arms. The significance of the peace initiatives is aimed at halting feverish armament and at disarmament, at consolidating trust, and at developing peaceful cooperation between all states regardless of their social system.

The talks devoted particular attention to the situation in Latin America. Both sides welcomed the process of democratization now underway in many countries in that area. They expressed deep concern over the situation in Central America and in the Caribbean. In this connection they resolutely rejected the U.S. endeavor to claim the right of deciding on the destinies of nations and states in the spirit of its hegemonist ambitions. They again condemned the aggression against Grenada, which made it impossible for the people of that island country to continue on the path they had freely chosen. The dangerous tension in that area must be resolved exclusively by peaceful means. The Czechoslovak side expressed high appreciation for the fact that the Government of the Republic of Nicaragua had gone all the way in meeting all the proposals made by the Contadora Group countries, aimed at averting the danger of a war conflict, at resolving the complicated situation via negotiations, and at ensuring peaceful development in keeping with the wishes of the people of participating countries. In this connection, the Czechoslovak side expressed full support for the proposals voiced by Daniel Ortega, president of the Republic of Nicaragua, which are being submitted with the aim of easing tension, preserving peace, and forestalling the danger of war in Central America.

The two sides stressed the significance of the Nonaligned Movement -- in which the Republic of Nicaragua is playing an important role -- in the fight to preserve and consolidate world peace and to prevent colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, and apartheid, and for ensuring an independent political and economic development and respect for further international principles that imperialism is violating. The CSSR and the Republic of Nicaragua expressed their resolve to continue aiding the consolidation of UN authority in harmony with the UN Charter, and with the adopted resolutions oriented toward strengthening world peace and toward deepening the cooperation of member-countries on the basis of equal rights.

The heads of the two delegations expressed the conviction that the results of negotiations between the CSSR and the Republic of Nicaragua will contribute toward further consolidating the friendship and cooperation between the two countries in all spheres of mutual contact.

Daniel Ortega, president of the Republic of Nicaragua and member of the FSLN National Directorate, expressed gratitude for the ardent reception accorded to the Nicaraguan delegation in the CSSR and invited Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, to visit the Republic of Nicaragua. The invitation was gratefully accepted.

DEFENSE MINISTER ADDRESSES ASSEMBLY COMMITTEES

AU091321 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 May 85 p 2

[CTK report: "Warsaw Pact: a Factor of Stability, Security, and Peace; From the Joint Session of the CSSR Federal Assembly Committees"]

[Excerpt] Prague -- The government proposal that submits to the CSSR Federal Assembly for approval the Protocol on Extending the Period of Validity of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance, signed on 26 April in Warsaw, was discussed

yesterday in Prague at a joint session by the foreign, paramilitary, and security committees of the Chamber of People and Chamber of Nations of the CSSR's Federal Assembly.

In his statement in substantiation Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, recalled that the emergence of the Warsaw Pact 30 years ago was the socialist states' reply to imperialism's frankly hostile policy, to what was at that time the 6-year existence of the aggressive NATO bloc, and to the inclusion of the FRG in this offensive pact. At that time Western powers efforts to remilitarize West Germany signified a violation of the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements and an increased danger to the security of the socialist states, Bohuslav Chnoupek states.

The Warsaw Pact -- this center of coordination for the foreign policy of the fraternal socialist countries -- was and continues to be the source of constructive initiatives, aimed at achieving detente, at limiting armament, at developing all-European cooperation. Its growing share in international relations has a positive influence on the overall political atmosphere in the world. By its consistent course it is aiding the consolidation of positions of all peace-loving, progressive, and anti-imperialist forces, Minister Chnoupek underscored. Many of its proposals have become the basis of the resolutions of important international gatherings. They have also found expression in many bilateral interstate acts. They have become t'e beginning of a series of multilateral agreements.

In view of the fact that the situation envisaged in Article 11 of the Warsaw Pact -- that means the establishment of a system of collective security throughout Europe, which would have led to the invalidation of the pact -- has not materialized, it was necessary to start securing the further existence of this defense union of the socialist countries. All the more so, since NATO did not react to the repeated appeals and proposals of the Warsaw Pact for the simultaneous dissolution of both unions, Bohuslav Chnoupek said.

Moreover, the inevitability of extending the Warsaw Pact is being enforced by the current situation, in which the imperialist circles are striving to acquire a military supremacy, escalating feverish armament, and striving to transfer it into space. For this reason we could not passively watch how new American first-strike nuclear missiles are being continuously deployed in Western Europe, how revanchism is growing stronger with the support of official circles, and how doubts are being cast on the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements on the postwar arrangement in Europe, the CSSR Minister of Foreign Affairs emphasized.

In the debate the deputies stated that, in the current complicated international situation, the extension of the Warsaw Pact's validity is an extremely significant political act, which ensures for the years to come the security of not only the socialist community alone.

UNLEADED GAS PRODUCTION SCHEDULE THROUGH 1990

AU101652 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 May 85 p 5

[Interview with Engineer Jiri Vencl, general director of Chemopetrol, by Eva Sadilkova in the "Economic Policy" column: "Unleaded Gasoline"]

[Excerpts] [Question] What measures will the Chemopetrol concern take to gradually ensure supplies of unleaded gasoline and within what deadline?

[Vencl] By the end of this year we want to start, and in the course of the coming year we want to effect completely, the transition to production of gasoline for motor vehicles with the lead content reduced to 0.25 grams per liter. Then, in 1986, we want to begin production and deliveries of a limited quantity of unleaded gasoline to a network of selected gasoline pumps to satisfy the needs of vehicles fitted with catalytic converters that enter our country from abroad. By 1989 we must start, and in 1990 fully effect the production of gasoline for motor vehicles containing 0.15 grams of lead per liter.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY LEAVES FOR USSR

LD131248 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1200 GMT 13 May 85

[Text] Mikulas Beno, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, left on a friendly working visit to the USSR today at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. At Ruzyne Airport he was seen off by Jindrich Polednik, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

USSR'S COL GEN YERMAKOV MEETS CPCZ'S KAPEK

AU091509 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 May 85 p 2

[Text] Prague (CTK) -- The delegation of the Central Group of Soviet Troops in the CSSR, led by its commander, Colonel General Viktor Yermakov, was received yesterday at the Old Town Hall by Antonin Kapek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and leading secretary of the Prague City CPCZ Committee, and by Frantisek Stafa, mayor of Prague. After a friendly talk the guests inspected the historic halls of the Old Town Hall and signed the visitors' book.

DEMICHEV ARRIVES FOR SOVIET DAYS OF CULTURE IN GDR

Welcomed by Hager

LD131027 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 13 May 85

[Text] The official delegation of the USSR for the Soviet Days of Culture in the GDR arrived this morning at Berlin Schoenfeld airport. It is led by Minister of Culture Petr Demichev. The Soviet guests were warmly welcomed by Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Minister of Culture Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, as well as other personalities of GDR public life. The Soviet Days of Culture in the GDR will be festively opened today with a concert in the Palace of the Republic. Twelve world-famous ensembles as well as outstanding instrumentalists, singers and dancers will be guests in the capital and the bezirke of the Republic.

Meets Honecker

LD131420 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1400 GMT 13 May 85

[Text] Erich Honecker, the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State today in Berlin received Soviet Minister of Culture Petr Demichev, who is staying in the GDR as the leader of the official delegation to the Soviet Days of Culture in the GDR. During a friendly talk it was pointed out that in the next 10 days, a large number of outstanding Soviet artists, scientists, people active in the cultural field and ensembles will be guests in the Republic. Both sides praised the Days of Culture as a significant political and cultural demonstration on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism and the liberation of the German people. As Erich Honecker and Petr Demichev stated, the event will reflect the unshakeable friendship between both countries as well as the increasingly intensive cultural relations.

Stoph, Demichev Attend Concert

LD132146 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1701 GMT 13 May 85

[Text] Berlin, 13 May (ADN) -- A festive concert in Berlin on Monday evening marked the start of the Soviet Days of Culture in the GDR. World-famous ensembles and soloists from the Soviet Union provided the sparkling evening in the Great Hall of the Palace of the Republic. The guests were SED Central Committee Politburo members Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Werner Felfe, Herbert Haeber, Kurt Hager, and Erich Mueckenberger; the official delegation of the USSR to the Days of Culture, led by Petr Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and minister of culture; as well as other personalities from the GDR and the Soviet Union.

The festive opening event was introduced with the national anthems of the two states. In addresses, Kurt Hager and Petr Demichev praised the Days of Culture, lasting until 23 May, as an impressive contribution by producers of art and culture to the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism and of the liberation of the German people.

Hager Comments on Ties

LD132325 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2000 GMT 13 May 85

[Excerpt] The Soviet Days of Culture in the GDR were opened in Berlin this evening with a festive concert by world-famous Soviet ensembles and soloists. At the start of the event, Kurt Hager expressed the certainty that this event will be an impressive manifestation of the indestructible fraternal bond and socialism's desire for peace. The Days of Culture should be viewed against the background of the 40th anniversary of victory over Hitler fascism and of the liberation of the German people, said Kurt Hager, Politburo member and the SED Central Committee secretary.

He recalled the world-historic deed of the Soviet people, who saved civilization and culture and protected humanity against the decline into barbarism. The Soviet culture officers, who had a decisive share in the democratic renewal of intellectual-culture life, remain unforgotten. The GDR also feels this gratitude for the rescuing of 1.5 million art treasures by members of the Red Army. Today, the speaker said, the fraternal bond is growing and becoming stronger every year. This found its concrete expression in the fruitful collaboration in economic, scientific-technological, and intellectual-cultural spheres.

Kurt Hager emphatically supported the numerous constructive proposals by the USSR to end the nuclear arms race and for arms limitation. "Our obligation consists in doing everything so that never again will a war emanate from German soil, but always only peace," he stressed. All peace forces must jointly prevent the "star wars" plans of the U.S. Administration from becoming reality. The masters of culture are called upon now more than ever to have their important say. To advocate peace has become, more than before, the first and most important task of culture and art.

Demichev Speaks on Cooperation

LD132326 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1921 GMT 13 May 85

[Excerpt] Berlin, 13 May (ADN) -- Petr Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of culture, stressed in his speech on 13 May at a festive concert in Berlin that the Soviet Communists, the producers of culture and art, and the whole Soviet people are following unwaveringly one of the most important commands of the party and state -- the consolidation on all sides of fraternal friendship with the closest fellow-fighters and allies, the countries of the socialist community of states. This community has become a reliable pillar of support for the people who are pursuing the path of social progress and peace.

The attempts by hostile forces to divert the socialist countries of the Marxist-Leninist path are in vain. "The people have had to pay a far too high price for the reactionary, mendacious ideas of anticommunism, racism and chauvinism, in whose lap revanchism and the crazy plans for a revision of the results of World War II are still prospering today," declared Petr Demichev.

Cultural cooperation between the socialist countries, the speaker said, promoted their coming together and serve the interests of peace and security. The Days of Culture of the GDR in October 1984 in the USSR have been the greatest event so far in the history of cultural relations between the two countries. The USSR has sent her best artists to the Days of Culture beginning now.

GRISHIN, DELEGATION MEET WITH BERLIN SED LEADERS

LD131904 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1751 GMT 13 May 85

[Text] Berlin, 13 May (ADN) -- On the occasion of the "Moscow Day in Berlin" during the Soviet Days of Culture in the GDR, a delegation of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU under Viktor Grishin, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Moscow City Committee, arrived in Berlin on 13 May. The delegation is here at the invitation of the SED Berlin Bezirk executive, whose first secretaty, Konrad Naumann, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, welcomed them at Berlin's Schoenfeld Airport.

At a meeting of the delegation with the Secretariat of the SED Besirk executive, Konrad Naumann described the visit as a further high point in the close fraternal cooperation between the CPSU and the SED and the organizations in the capital cities. Konrad Naumann and Viktor Grishin described the results of the work in preparation for the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism and of the liberation of the German people.

Speaking of further tasks in the preparations for the coming SED and CPSU congresses, the partners in the talks stressed the use of fraternal cooperation and of the creative exchange of experience between many enterprises and work collectives in Berlin and Moscow.

HOFFMANN MEETS CUBAN ARMY POLITICAL OFFICIAL

LD131148 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 13 May 85

[Text] Army General Heinz Hoffmann, GDR Minister of Defense, today received a delegation of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba. In a talk with the chief [title as heard] of the Central Political Directorate of the Cuban Army Colonel Gustavo Milian Rivero, both sides condemned the U.S. trade and economic blockade against Nicaragua. Washington was trying again with this to delay social progress in the states of Latin America by a policy of threats and blackmail. The leading military men of the GDR and Cuba affirmed the firm solidarity of their peoples with Nicaragua. As they had stressed elsewhere, the U.S. and NATO had created great dangers for world peace in Europe, Central America, and other regions. The soldiers of socialism would therefore work all the more effectively to ensure that peace remains reliably protected.

DER SPIEGEL SPECULATES ON FISCHER REPLACEMENT

OW140609 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 13 May 85 p 17

[Unattributed report: "GDR: New Foreign Minister?"]

[Text] The SED congress in April 1986 will probably be one of personnel changes. Since SED chief Erich Honecker has been thinking out loud about finding a successor as general secretary, there are now indications in East Berlin that GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer could be replaced. He supposedly would be replaced by Gerhard Herder, current GDR ambassador to the United States and Canada. Herder is an expert in international law; speaks Russian, English, and French; and has been in the GDR diplomatic service for decades. Accordingly, it must be assumed that Honecker would then try to get Fischer into the Politburo.

BANKS PLAN TO INCREASE RANGE OF SERVICES

LD132141 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 13 May 85

[Text] The process of strengthening market conditions, as well as improving the efficiency of the economy and, in harmony with this, the modernization of the banking system is to continue in Hungary. This was stressed by Finance Minister Istvan Hetenyi at a Budapest conference of savings banks, which was attended by financial experts from 25 countries. The financial institutions are continually expanding their services and competition among them is beginning to emerge. Jeno Szirmai, managing director of National Savings Bank [OTP] spoke about the plans of his institution and announced that bonuses paid on top of interest will be increased for certain types of deposit accounts, the system of paying by check is to be introduced on a broader range, and savings bank bonds will be issued.

OTP is transforming its enterprise bureau into a subsidiary that will deal mainly with supporting small ventures, funding research and development activities, and providing loans. A real-estate bank is also to be established and this will facilitate the exchange and sale and purchase of homes owned by private individuals.

VISIT BY BULGARIAN FINANCE MINISTER SUMMARIZED

LD091937 Budapest MTI in English 1721 GMT 9 May 85

[Text] Budapest, May 9 (MTI) -- On the invitation of Hungary's minister of finance, Istvan Hetenyi, Bulgaria's minister of finance, Belcho Belchev paid an official friendly visit to Hungary on May 6-9. The ministers of finance discussed current issues of Hungarian-Bulgarian financial and economic relations and the main trends of their further development, the experiences of economic mechanisms and their possible developments in both countries.

Belcho Belchev met Lajos Faluvegi, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and president of the National Planning Office, and Matyas Timar, president of the National Bank of Hungary.

VARKONYI TO ATTEND AUSTRIAN TREATY ANNIVERSARY

LD131055 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 13 May 85

[Excerpts] The American secretary of state is expected in Vienna this afternoon in order to take part in the festivities of the 30th anniversary of the Austrian State Treaty. The Austrian Government has invited to the festivities the foreign ministers of the seven neighboring states, including Peter Varkonyi, who will travel to Vienna tomorrow. In the interest of the safety of the visitors, extraordinary measures have been instituted; over 1,500 policemen, some plainclothed, will look after the foreign politicians.

SCIENCES ACADEMY ELECTS PRESIDENT, OFFICIALS

LD102054 Budapest MTI in English 1745 GMT 10 May 75

[Excerpt] Budapest, May 10 (MTI) -- Academician Ivan T. Berend was elected president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences for a five-year term at the 145th session of the academy, which ended Friday. Ferenc Marta, Bruno F. Straug and Jozsef Ujfalussy were elected deputy presidents.

The president, the deputy presidents, and members of the Presidium were elected in a secret ballot at the closing session. The session submitted a proposal to the Council of Ministers to appoint Istvan Lang the general secretary, and Arpad Csurgay and Kalman Kulcsar deputy general secretaries.

Members of the Presidium: Mihaly Beck, Denes Berenyi, Jozsef Bognar, Jozsef Fulop, Tibor Klaniczay, Pal Zsigmong Pach, Emil Pasztor, Pal Stefanovits, Janos Szentagothai, Gyorgy Vajda and Tibor Vamos.

A closed session held a detailed discussion on the main issues of scientific life, approved the reports by the Presidium and the general secretary, and passed a resolution on forthcoming aims.

LEADERS SEND MESSAGE TO SOVIETS ON ANNIVERSARY

AU101150 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 9 May 85 p 3

["Greetings Telegram" from Hungarian party and state leaders to the CPSU and Soviet state and government organs on 40th anniversary of victory over Hitlerite fascism]

[Text] To the Central Committee of the CPSU; to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; to the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Moscow.

Dear comrades: In the name of the Central Committee of the MSZMP, the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, its Council of Ministers, and our people, we convey our comradely greetings and friendly good wishes to you, to the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union and its Council of Ministers, to the great Soviet people on the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism. On this day we remember with respect and sincere gratitude the heroic battle waged by the nations of the USSR to destroy fascism, and restore the freedom of the peoples.

The USSR suffered immense damage and made enormous sacrifices in World War II. It played a decisive role in destroying the war machinery of Hitler fascism. As a result of the world-historical victory of the Soviet people, it liberated from fascism several countries of Europe whose peoples, taking the historical opportunity, chose the path of progress and started to construct a new system of society. In the spring of 1945, fulfilling its historic mission, the glorious Soviet Army also brought freedom to the Hungarian people and with this a new era started in our history.

Working on the construction of the socialist society, the Hungarian people also pledge on the 40th anniversary of the vicotry over fascism to continuously strengthen their relations and fraternal friendship with the USSR and the other socialist countries, and together wage the struggle to curb the arms race, to promote peace and security.

On the festive day of peace-loving humanity, on the 40th anniversary of the victory won over Hitler fascism, we pay tribute to you and the heroic Soviet people. We wish you further outstanding successes in perfecting the developed socialist society, in your highly responsible activity for the peace of the world and for social progress.

Janos Kadar, general secretary of the MSZMP
Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic
Gyorgy Lazar, premier of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic

19TH PZPR CC PLENUM ON INTELLIGENTSIA BEGINS

Importance of Intelligentsia

LD131351 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 13 May 85

[Excerpts] Following a Politburo report, a plenary discussion of the 19th PZPR Central Committee Plenum began. Up to now, eight speakers have taken the floor. First to speak was Andrzej Wasiliewski, candidate member of the Central Committee and director of the state publishing institute. It is a fundamental problem for every society to awaken and utilize the basic capital (?of) knowledge and capacity for creative work, the speaker said. Our country has particular need of this awakening. For a long time, however, we have had a very inadequate system for rewarding creative work and inadequate criteria for assessing the expertise of people working at the highest level and (words indistinct) for lack of the proper criteria for assessment. This is an extensive problem. Reward for creative, good work affects members of the intelligentsia and workers alike. People who do not put excellence at a premium, said Andrzej Wasilewski, condemn themselves to slipshod work.

He went on to talk about the situation among book publishers. There have been many words of reproach and complaint said on this subject. The civic duty of the creators of literature should find the proper climate in conditions which we should create for them. Andrzej Wasilewski also spoke about the alienation of a second part of the literary milieu. Names which (?once) represented the highest quality in literature are ceasing to count for anything in literature today. This is the result of self-degradation, which has been caused in some fields by the political disorientation of the creators of literature. Creative sectors must take into account the political reality and the fact that we expect the best brains to point us into the future today.

Next, Henryk Wojtal, candidate member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Voivodship Committee in Krosno, spoke about speeding up scientific and technological advances and an increase in labor productivity as our historic duty.

Next to speak was Tadeusz Jarstrzebowski, actor and chairman of the Union of Polish Stage Artists [ZASP]. He stated that the 14th general assembly of the union had been an event which could make a great contribution to its work. Attitudes are maturing and specific viewpoints are forming on the most important issues for this medium. The union accepts everyone who wants to cooperate, but, as the speaker said, it does not want to waste energy on self-styled (?opposition extremists). There is no lack of political disquiet in the milieu as well. We are not losing heart because of difficulties, however; after all, much has already changed for the better, said Tadeusz Jastrzebowski. The next speaker then talked about the material working conditions of the artistic milieu and said that many issues have still not been resolved.

Professor Emeritus Jerzy Igrazynek of the Mining and Metallurgical Academy in Krakow spoke next, saying that direct contacts with the workers are an important link in the political and professional activity of scientists.

Remuneration of Intelligentsia

LD131929 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 13 May 85

[Text] The discussion has started at the 19th plenary session of the party, which is debating the place and tasks of the intelligentsia in Poland's socialist development, following a report from the Politburo delivered by Jozef Czyrek.

Its participatns are first and foremost drawing attention to the significance of appropriate utilization of the qualifications and potential abilities of the intelligentsia. Issues of rewards and remuneration for special qualities and creative achievements, and giving preference to (?skill) and mastery are being discussed. The participants in the discussion are pointing out party organizations' special tasks concerning the maximal utilization of scientific and technical achievements by industry. The need to maintain direct links between representatives of the intelligentsia and the workers is being emphasized especially strongly. At the same time, the significance of proper preparation of technical and engineering personnel for performing their duties at work enterprises is being mentioned. Some of the participants in the discussion are indicating various paradoxes and contradictions between expectations toward intelligentsia circles and the practical possibilities of utlizing them. It is stressed that intellect itself cannot be remunerated. On the other hand, practical results from application of scientific knowledge and qualifications should always be rewarded. The proceedings of the 19th plenum are continuing.

Political Obligations Discussed

LD132004 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1700 GMT 13 May 85

[Report from 19th PZPR Central Committee Plenum meeting in Warsaw]

[Text] Defining precise tasks for the intelligentsia, improving material living conditions of artists, creating economic conditions for the implementation of innovative solutions, and stimulating technical development are briefly the tasks outlined in the speech by Ignacy Drabik, a Central Committee member and senior foreman in the Predom (?Metkop) Enterprise in Skarzysko.

The next speaker, Jerzy Krasowski, director of the national theater in Warsaw, concentrated in his speech on political obligations of the intelligentsia. Emotions do help in making rational judgments and drawing appropriate conclusions. The Polish intelligentsia, however, is not sufficiently aware of the FRG's dangerous political course and its aim to liquidate the Polish state. There is also a small group of the Polish intelligentsia who supports these plans and follows their pronouncements. For this attitude history will forgive no one. The national consciousness is subject to fluctuations, but nothing will relieve the Polish intelligentsia from responsibility for the existence of the nation and from respect for its highest values, said Jerzy Krasowski.

Waldemar Krajewski, journalist and first secretary of the party enterprise committee at the radio and television committee, spoke on the role of the intelligentsia in shaping the political and economic condition of our country. We take too passive a stand toward subversion by Western propaganda centers and we need a deeper ideological reflection today that is appropriate to the time in which we live. A description of cooperation between Polish radio and television and creative circles was a significant part of Waldemar Krajewski's speech.

Intelligentsia's Role

LD132348 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2005 GMT 13 May 85

["Excerpts" from 19th PZPR Central Committee Plenum meeting in the Nowotko works in Warsaw on 13 May -- recorded]

[Excerpt] [Unidentified speaker] I now ask Waldemar Krajewski, journalist and first secretary of the works committee at the radio and television committee, to take the floor.

[Krajewski] One of the main subjects of today's plenum is an attempt to answer the following question: What is the role of our intelligentsia in shaping the intellectual, economic, and sociopolitical fitness of our country; and what can be done so that every pair of Polish hands, every brain, can work for us and not for others? In the January edition of the Paris KULTURA, in an article signed by Andrzej Artur (?Grabiec) we read: The whole system, which means our socialist one, must disappear from the face of the earth. In a political quarterly also published in Paris under the title KRYTYKA, Adam Michnik bravely supports (?Grabiec), saying, among other things: Resistance to such a state -- he means, of course, People's Poland -- is natural, and civil disobedience becomes the only attitude worthy of the respect of the community. Michnik goes on to write that any kind of creative attitude in the current realities of socialist Poland is simply participation in a criminal offense. This is one example from the whole range of incitement, slanders, and lies that flow uniterrupted toward our society. Ending this theme [words indistinct] risk a statement [words indistinct].

Esteemed comrades, the radio and television committee wishes to cooperate with all artistic milieus, with all spheres of the Polish intelligentsia under one condition: that this cooperation benefits Poland, the cause of socialism, and the purposes of our state. We value and will continue to value all authentic achievements of the creators who wish to multiply the spiritual and moral (?achievements) of our society. Television and radio meet all kinds of creative initiatives from gifted and thinking people. [passage indistinct] It is in our common interest to broaden this platform of cooperation and use it most fruitfully; this is one of the supreme and culture-producing functions of our institution, more because we are noting a favorable, more realistic evolution of attitudes in many creative milieus and broadly understood circles of the Polish intelligentsia toward the most universal (?cultural medium).

[Unidentified voice] I ask comrade (?Jaroszewski) to take the floor.

[?Jaroszewski] In work to popularize progressive social thought and most of all Marxism, a significant place is occupied, apart from the party institutes of ideological training, by social, cultural, and educational organizations, including the society for Popularization of Lay Culture, of which I am an activist. We conduct activities aimed at the popularization of scientific knowledge. We place particular emphasis on winning over the young intelligentsia to secular ideals, and hence we attach great importance to cooperation with the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, with the work of our joint youth center of lay culture, and with other youth organizations.

We wish to participate to a greater extent in developing programs for new subjects being introduced into secondary schools, such as the study of religious and preliminary philosophy, and the training of teachers who will teach these subjects. Over 80,000 teachers participate in the work of our organization, as well as many other representatives of the intelligentsia, but we would like to attract, in greater numbers than before, creative intelligentsia and various groups of technical intelligentsia and rural intelligentsia.

While propagating the scientific view of the world, we are not opposed to the cooperation of people with different world outlooks, or dialogue between Marxists and Christians. Quite the contrary, we are active for the sake of dialogue and cooperation with people with differing religious views -- cooperation for the sake of our common socialist fatherland. We have even devoted the latest edition of our monthly CZLOWIEK I SWIATOPOGLAD [MAN AND WORLD OUTLOOK] to the problem of dialogue between Marxists and Christians, both in the national and international spheres.

We are of the opinion, however, that we Marxists should conduct such a dialogue from the position of our ideological identity.

And we believe that the cooperation of believers and nonbelievers should be based on full respect for the democratic principles of freedom of conscience, separation of church and state and public institutions, and civic tolerance.

We are, therefore, very alarmed by intolerance and imposition on the public institutions of religious symbols and points of view; discrimination against atheists or those of different faiths; and the use of churches for reactionary political purposes by the centers of the opposition.

In the struggle against clericalism, both political or social, in the struggle for popularization in Poland of the lay culture and a scientific world outlook, the party has in us, and will continue to have, a devoted ally.

POREBSKI ON FRUSTRATIONS, ROLE OF INTELLIGENTSIA

LD121345 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1100 GMT 12 May 85

[Text] "Equal to Aspirations" is the title PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY has given to its interview with Tadeusz Porebski, Politburo member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. The article concerns the problems of the intelligentsia before tomorrow's 19th plenum. Here are some excerpts:

PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY: The seasonal frustration of the intelligentsia has a certain political undertone, as well as economic causes. A certain section of the intelligentsia painfully feels the gap between aspirations and possibilities. Critical voices from the workers and in the party forum as well can be heard in addition to this.

Porebski: Some people see anti-intelligentsia moods in this. This is groundless. Basically, the workers first and foremost expect active help from the intelligentsia in rationalizing and organizing work. They make such comments and complaints. Naturally there are voices criticizing the lack of support for the basic social class, but they concern a narrow circle of the intelligentsia. There is no point in concealing that there are small groups of the Polish intelligentsia that negate everything that has been achieved in the 40 years of People's Poland. In this group, alongside the malcontents, are also enemies of the socialist system. The party will not hold a dialogue with the latter. Concerning the intelligentsia's frustations, I believe two elements make up this feeling: the cognizance that its opportunities as a social group are not being fully exploited; and the conviction that it has only a small influence in shaping decisions.

PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY: To be an independent intellectual is fashionable and convenient not only in Poland. However, there are people, not just among the intelligentsia, who believe that they do not have full possibilities for dialogue despite the existing social and political organizations, despite Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] and the trade unions and self-governing bodies.

Porebski: That is a wider problem. Allow me to digress a little. We Poles adore discussion: Long, wide-ranging, heated; world-shaking even. We love creating ambitious plans and beautiful visions. But we are not very interested in implementing them. I know of groups, even, that limit themselves solely to discussion and after reaching the point where their concept comes out on top, they are in no hurry to implement what they have achieved. Sometimes, maybe, they do not have sufficient opportunities to do so. We have many powerful social organizations, for example the Supreme Technical Organization (NOT), the great organization of the technical intelligentsia. One can meet frustrated engineers there because certain ideas have not been implemented.

But there will always be frustration until we get to the stage of organizing our social life, where the people taking part in the phase of drawing up tasks are to a great extent their executors as well. Organizations which solely occupy themselves with discussion cannot continue to function in the long term. They must have a field for specific action and take responsibility for a specific sector of social life, within which they make decisions, implement them, and account for them.

This was stressed by Tadeusz Porebski in an interview with PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY journalists.

LEADERS' MESSAGE TO SOVIET LEADERS ON ANNIVERSARY

AU131256 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 May 85 pp 1, 6

[Greetings message from PZPR First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski and State Council Chairman Henryk Jablonski to Mikhail Gorbachev and Nikolay Tikhonov on victory anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and Comrade Nikolay Tikhonov, USSR Council of Ministers chairman, Moscow:

Greatly esteemed comrades, the bloodiest war in mankind's history came to an end 40 years ago. It was World War II, which had been unleashed by German fascism. The defeated Hitlerite Reich signed an unconditional surrender. The European nations were rescued from annihilation. The anti-Hitlerite coalition, in which the USSR and its heroic Army were the decisive force, was victorious. The price paid for the victory over fascism was appalling. Millions and millions of human beings perished, and material losses were enormous. Our two peoples suffered the greatest losses.

We are proud that the Polish People's Armed Forces fought with the Soviet Army from Lenino through Berlin and that they participated in the historic victory in Berlin, where the Polish flag was hoisted side by side with the Soviet banner.

The Polish people will forever remember the Soviet soldiers' sacrifice of blood shed in liberating our country. We pay homage to the 600,000 Red Army soldiers who fell on Polish soil. We will not forget the USSR's fraternal assistance to lift our country out of ruins and ravages and the USSR's decisive support in placing our borders along the Odra and Nysa and in returning the ancient Polish territories to our fatherland. Reborn Poland embraced revolutionary sociopolitical changes and accelerated economic development. At present the PPR, which is a country engaged in socialist building, possesses a large manpower and production potential and continues to consistently overcome the difficulties that have appeared in our socioeconomic development.

The 40 years since that historic victory continue to confirm the fact that efforts to expand and strengthen Polish-Soviet cooperation guarantee our country's further harmonious development.

Today the comprehensive cooperation between our countries has achieved a qualitatively new phase as attested to by the Long-Term Program for the Development of Polish-Soviet Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation. This program reaches to the 21st century.

Poland is an element of the socialist community and continues to crucially contribute through its military political activities and its defense potential to the joint potential and international position of the Warsaw Pact countries.

The Warsaw Pact, which is our defensive alliance and which was recently extended in Warsaw, has been and continues to be a basic factor of peace and security in Europe and the world. It continues to be an effective barrier to the aggressive plans of imperialism and a reliable defense shield for the socialist achievements, security, and inviolable borders of our allied countries.

The Warsaw Pact countries continue to submit the only reasonable alternative to a world without wars and tension and to consistently strive for resuming the policy of detente and dialogue and for promoting mutually advantageous international cooperation.

Dear comrades, please accept on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the historic victory over fascism our most cordial wishes for further successes of the fraternal peoples of the USSR and for new creative achievements in communist construction in your country and in the struggle for peace and social progress throughout the world.

Signed: Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR first secretary and chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers, and Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the PPR State Council

JARUZELSKI, IAEA DIRECTOR GENERAL HOLD TALKS

LD132138 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 13 May 85

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski received Dr Hans Blix, director general of the IAEA, who is staying in Poland on an official visit. Discussing threats to international peace, the interlocutors pointed out the role which the agency can and should play in solving problems of fundamental significance to mankind, including, above all, the consolidation of international security and trust.

Dr Blix reported on world trends in the sphere of nuclear energy, emphasizing growing interest in its use. The necessity of peaceful use of nuclear energy based on the agreement on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons was pointed out.

Wojciech Jaruzelski expressed support for the IAEA and its director general in the implementation of statutory tasks. The guest was informed about the development plans of Polish nuclear science and the nuclear power industry.

LIS, FRASYNIUK, MICHNIK TRIAL TO BEGIN 23 MAY

AU140955 Paris AFP in English 0948 GMT 14 May 85

[Text] Warsaw, May 14 (AFP) -- Three officials of Poland's banned Solidarity trade union movement will go on trial May 23 in Gdansk, family members said, on charges of holding leadership positions in an illegal organization. The accused, Bogdan Lis, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk and Adam Michnik, were arrested February 13 when police broke up a meeting in a Gdansk apartment. The meeting was chaired by Lech Walesa, Solidarity's supreme leader.

The meeting had been called to discuss preparations for a symbolic nationwide strike in protest at food-price increases. The strike was later called off after the authorities agreed to introduce the increases gradually.

The trial of the three men is to last four days in the Gdansk regional court, the family of one of them said. They could be sentenced to up to five years in prison if convicted. All three ment were released from prison, where they were serving time for political offenses, under an amnesty last year.

The trials of Mr Lis, Mr Frasynuik and Mr Michnik come at a time of continuing pressure by the communist regime of General Wojciech Jaruzelski on political dissent. Police Courts in Warsaw and Krakow early this month sentenced three other dissidents, Jacek Kuron, Seweryn Jaworski and Stanislaw Hanzlik, to three-month jail terms for taking part in banned counterdemonstrations of May Day that brought thousands of Solidarity supporters into the streets in several cities.

JABLONSKI SPEECH TO 4 MAY WAR VETERANS CONGRESS

AU081319 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 May 85 p 3

[Opening speech by State Council Chairman Henryk Jablonski at the Congress of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy (ZBOWID) in Warsaw on 4 May]

[Text] Esteemed delegates and friends, on behalf of the retiring Executive Council of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy, I welcome you warmly as representatives of our great combat family, and thank on your behalf all the domestic and foreign guests for coming to the congress.

For 2 days we will discuss a report by the chairman of the Veterans Affairs Office, the conclusions of voivodship congresses, and the personal experiences of each and every one of us on the basis of the circulated report material and supplementary reports by the Supreme Council, Auditing Commission, and Arbitration Court.

But will this unquestionable wealth of material be enough for us to develop a discussion that is commensurate with our aspirations as ZBOWID members gathered at its highest forum? I am convinced that this question can only be answered in the negative. We are not an organization which can limit itself to its own issues without taking into consideration all modern conditions and the life of the nation and state.

After all, we are not linked by a shared philosophy of life, shared membership in a particular political movement, common vocational ties, common spare time interests, or shared ties to a particular region or city. We may highly value all these similar associations and even participate in many of them on an individual basis, but the common interest of our great mass organization is our fighting past and our struggle for the nation's freedom and the realization of its inalienable right to its own territory, independence, sovereignty, security, democratic system, and order, ensuring strength and development.

We came to fight on various fronts, in various formations, and in various direct alliances, but there was only one love for our country and one heartfelt feeling which said: "My nation cannot falter, and I must prove it with my own strength." And our victory in this struggle was also a joint one.

This was a long time ago, and many years have elapsed since we faced and dealt with the enemy. But what can these years mean: That we have less physical strength? That many of us have begun a well-earned retirement from our work or are about to do so? This is true, but as social activists and warriors for freedom and democracy, no one can give us a pension because we do not want it.

In a few days time we will celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Third Reich's unconditional surrender. And in this context it is worth recalling the intelligent words of Colonel Zbigniew Zaluski, who has departed from our ranks prematurely: "The Polish soldier standing before the Brandenburg Gate was aware that he had inflicted defeat on Hitlerism. He was also aware that he had inflicted defeat on German imperialism and on the forces of Prusso-German rapacity.

But he was certainly not aware of the concrete shape of his victory and of all those geographical, political, and social elements which made up this defeat. However, we today do know what the lasting elements of success are. We reiterate with full force: Nothing of our victory must be forgotten, lost, or ruined."

A few months ago, on the 45th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, we were able to acquaint ourselves with a lot of material about the war. Many of us also spoke about its causes, course, and effects because its place in our personal lives was too important for anyone among us to erase it from his memory. There is therefore no reason today to go back to a detailed analysis of those times, when for every 1,000 Polish citizens, 220 met their deaths in battlefields, in Hitlerite camps, at street executions, and through other forms of steady elimination of our nation. And no one has ever correctly calculated how many of those left alive were invalids -- sick persons, orphans, or members of broken families. We paid a large price for the return of our freedom. Knowledge of this fact must be a part of the self-knowledge of all Poles, so that we may always adopt the proper attitude toward the modern phenomena of today.

And one more matter. The place and role of the USSR must be permanently imprinted in the hearts and thoughts of Poles. In the first 2 years of the war, the Germans conquered Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, and France, and had practical control over the entire production potential of the conquered countries. They had never commanded such power before. Therefore, the gentlemen of the Third Reich imagined that only one blitzkrieg separated them from final triumph. England was held in a vise and could not be considered a threat. In order for Hitler to fulfill his dreams, he had only to conquer the USSR. However, "Operation Barbarossa" did not succeed, and from June 1941 to May 1945 the chief war effort was concentrated on the Soviet-German front. On this decisive front, the fortunes of Europe and the world, our fortunes, were played out. The enormous sacrifices the USSR had to make in order to bring about 9 May 1945 have incurred a debt of gratitude from all of mankind. The tombs of 600,000 Soviet soldiers buried on our soil must remind future generations of this debt and illustrate at the same time the truth about our road to victory.

This time we did not waste the victory, as we seemed to have done on previous occasions. The reacquisition of the northern and western territories is the result of the military defeat of Hitler's Germany and the farsighted policy of the Polish left wing, headed by the Polish Workers Party. No one who ponders over the course of the war, the balance of forces in Europe, and most of all the logic of events can have any doubt that Poland could only return to its medieval homelands as a state of the working masses, and that only such a state could husband this territory, annex it to the motherland, and create conditions of security for the new borders. There would have been no confirmation of our right to return to the Odra and Nysa Rivers and to the Baltic at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences were it not for the USSR's decisive support. This support was the most eminent expression of the Polish-Soviet alliance that was born in the hour of battle and cemented most nobly by jointly spilled blood in defense of common ideas.

It is often said that history is the teacher of life. However, it would be more correct to say that history could not be a teacher of life because there will never be a shortage of people who forget its lessons and expose themselves to inevitable disaster. Fortunately, the overwhelming majority of the people and their leading force, the PZPR, are capable of drawing conclusions from recent and further historical experiences.

The experiences of centuries clearly show that a state desiring peace must try to have its friends close and its enemies, if any, as far away as possible. The prewar government behaved exactly the opposite in forming its alliances, and the result was obvious.

How much happier our situation is when we have on all our borders friendly states, joined to us by a unity of leading political forces, the same main political principles, and participation in the two multilateral allied treaties -- CEMA and the defensive Warsaw Pact.

The essential nature of the Warsaw Pact as a defense shield for peace is clearest of all for us combatants. We expressed this recently through the renewal by authorized representatives of the seven fraternal states of the Warsaw Pact for a further 20 years. We were the first to ratify this protocol by the State Council resolution on 2 May. For we need peace like we do air.

Neither must we forget even for one moment that a particular hostility from the imperialist forces is aimed at us. We understand its sources well. The great attempt to reverse history and snatch Poland away from the family of socialist states, or at least to turn it into a "second Afghanistan" as our most avid opponents have loudly dreamed, failed. Efforts to break our country by means of economic restrictions also failed. Therefore, these people have now felt it necessary to harm Poland in every possible way and to not stop at any deceit in order to make the country repulsive to its own society, to sow unrest in Poland, and to support elements hostile to our system with all means at their disposal.

It is extremely cynical for those who are driving the arms race, aiming to implement the "star wars" program, and violating the rights of entire nations to a free life to instruct us about human rights. It is a peculiar kind of respect for human rights when one expresses his friendly attitude toward the Germans by paying homage to dead SS-men -- not to those whom we consider our friends, not to the antifascists in the FRG and the builders of socialism in the GDR, but to Hitler's heirs. Extreme hypocrisy is also required in order to accuse our nation of complicity in the Nazi genocide. All this is emboldening all kinds of revanchists who would once again like to rule our western and northern lands, not caring for the fact that the judgment of history in this case is irreversible.

How can we, citizens of a country which bled profusely and continuously for 2078 days in stubborn battle against the enemy of all mankind, listen to this?

That is why our allied connections are so important to us, because we want to live and work in peace. But it is also true that every partner in an alliance is valued not for what he says but for the real strength he represents. We may say with justified pride that we have not wasted our chance and that today's Poland is favorably different in all respects from the one before the war and the one just after it. We have done a lot for its development. We can boldly say "we," because we ZBOWID men were always in the front ranks of the working people. However, our 40 years are not only full of achievements. Although the general picture is imposing, there has not been an absence of serious errors and misfortunes. These, too, facilitated the activity of forces hostile to our system, elements of destruction and anarchy.

The time which has elapsed since our last congress is full of stormy events. The country was subjected to a heavy trial. We can also state with satisfaction that the veterans of the liberation struggle have shown once again that they are worthy of the Poland for which they fought; that time has not diminished their patriotism, dedication, and boldness of action; and that they have been able to stand in defense of the achievements of the nation and state. Generally, ZBOWID men have displayed a full understanding of the fact that one cannot talk of the strength of a state, the highest organized body of mankind without discussing internal order, social discipline, and real socialist democracy. There is also no doubt that the overwhelming majority of ZBOWID men have done all they can to conquer anarchy and achieve normalization and accord between all the nation's healthy forces.

But the struggle to rebuild the strength of the state, to whose emergence they contributed, is not over. The general situation is still difficult. A lot of intelligent effort is still required in order for the economic reform to yield the expected results despite the internal restrictions and opposition to the reform existing here and there. At the same time, patient and stubborn effort is necessary to make those who faltered and went astray, but who are people of goodwill, join our work. Struggle is essential against all social pathology, which cannot be overcome by penal sanctions alone. Much remains to be done concerning education and health. Many difficult social problems await solutions.

All these matters also belong to us, even though they are not contained in our reports. Nothing that is Polish is and can be unimportant to us if we remain faithful to the ideals of our youth.

I am deeply convinced that we -- conscious of all these external and internal conditions -- will continue to serve the nation and state with our work. We will express this during the congress talks and in our resolutions and conclusions.

DEFENSE MINISTER'S ORDER FOR VE ANNIVERSARY

LD082118 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 8 May 85

[Text] National Defense Minister Army General Florian Siwicki issued a special order in which he recalled Poland's contribution in crushing the German Third Reich. The minister conveyed cordial greetings to regular soldiers, national servicemen, employees of the army and defense industry, and veterans and soldiers of fraternal armies. The minister has also ordered for tomorrow in Warsaw, Chelm, Kolobrzeg, Szczecin Zgorzelec, and in towns where there are headquarters of military regions and branches -- in Bydgoszcz, Wroclaw, Poznan, and Gdynia -- that 24-gun salutes be fired.

JABLONSKI VE SPEECH EMPHASIZES GRATITUDE TO USSR

LD092331 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 9 May 85

["H. Jablonski's Speech at the Belweder; (abridged text)" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 9 May (PAP) -- Speaking on 9 May at the Belweder, Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the PPR Council of State, greeted veterans, a delegation of Soviet frontline soldiers, and diplomats accredited to the USSR, which was the first country to repulse the Nazi aggressors.

Today we honor, H. Jablonski said, the day that ended a war which brought immense misfortunes. The peoples of the anti-Nazi coalition paid dearly for the victory. It was a triumph of the idea of humaneness over the inhuman barbarity of the most ignoble variety of fascism, which is what nazism was.

The defeat of Hitlerism brought freedom to the peoples it had conquered, while at the same time opening before the German people new prospects -- of a return to the human family and to a place worthy of its previous contribution to the heritage of world civilization and culture. That is how one should regard the so-called problem of reconciliation with the German people. For if we apply to great historic phenomena the right historic yardstick, then the German people also gained something on 9 May 1945. To that part of Germany that has chosen the path of peace and socialist construction, we are linked by bonds of firm friendship. We see friends on the other side of the Elbe because chauvinism is alien to us and we want to live in conditions of mutual respect with all peoples.

But we do not, cannot and never will agree with attempts to disturb the peaceful order in Europe -- which was achieved at the cost of the blood of millions -- through revanchist strivings for territorial changes, through the spreading of ideas of domination of some peoples by others.

The history of World War II showed that when faced with a deadly threat to all mankind, it was possible for states with different social systems to unite their efforts. Of course, they made varied contributions to overcoming Hitlerite Germany and to saving and liberating the peoples. No one can doubt that from June 1941 to May 1945 the main brunt of the war was borne by the Land of the Soviets, to which mankind should be particularly grateful.

We Poles will never forget that the Red Army brought us freedom and peace. At the same time, we are proud of the fact that the Polish Army fought shoulder-to-shoulder with it and that the white and red flag flew over the ruins of Berlin.

Poland, in proportion to its population, suffered the greatest human losses in this war, and the continuation of the war and occupation threatened us all with destruction. This is enough to understand what victory meant to us. At the same time it brought about a radical change in the territorial shape of our country. We returned to Polish land which had been taken from us in the past. We returned to our brothers -- Ukrainians, Belorussians and Lithuanians -- their ethnic territories, mindful of that truth which says that a people oppressing other peoples is not truly free. We safeguarded our future through the alliance with the USSR, which is a defender of our interests at international conferences. Other peoples liberated by the Soviet Army joined with this first socialist state through alliance and friendship, and these peoples also set about introducing radical political changes, thus creating a system of social justice, work and peace.

The choice made by our peoples presupposes a striving for genuine cooperation with other countries regardless of their structure. The borders of the socialist states are not barriers to the development of multifaceted contacts with the other countries of our continent, provided that they respect our sovereignty as we respect theirs.

In view of its moral and political nature, the victory over fascism also had important side effects. Establishment of the socialist states, whose highest principle in international relations is peace and cooperation, was a good example for all peoples that wish to be masters in their own countries. Many new states have appeared which, as a result of the national liberation struggle, have rid themselves of colonial domination. We are linked to them by the idea of equal rights for every people, by their total external and internal sovereignty, and by the desire for a firm peace to create for them conditions for their further full development.

The agonizing experience of the war gave birth to the idea of ensuring lasting peace by creating a world body that would enable us to settle all conflicts without recourse to arms, while at the same time providing opportunities for developing comprehensive cooperation among all states, regardless of their social and political system. Regrettably, the modern world is not as we imagined it when we took part in the founding of the United Nations. The international situation is tense. The forces of imperialism are striving to impose their will on the free peoples, are pushing others toward the arms race, and want to extend the arms race to space, which has hitherto been free of weapons, despite the fact that this may have unimaginable consequences for all mankind.

At the same time, this is encouraging a renaissance of revanchism and the undermining of the existing politico-territorial order and the provisions of Yalta and Potsdam, despite their direct confirmation at the Helsinki Conference.

This dangerous development in the international situation is supported with attempts to distort the picture of history and to sow mistrust, and even with official gestures that may be construed as equating the Nazi butchers and their victims. This cannot be explained by a desire for reconciliation with the Germans, as it insults the memory of all those who fought for freedom, as it insults the idea of humaneness, and as it insults the Germans themselves, since it equates them with all those who stained the honor of their people.

Together with all the peace-loving peoples of the world we are commemorating the anniversary of the great victory over fascism. On this day we unite with all people of goodwill. We express respect for the USSR, which, with the other socialist states, is pursuing a consistent policy of peace, for it is the socialist states that issue more and more peace proposals and initiatives aimed at reducing international tension. Who can deny that it is precisely this policy that has given the peoples of Europe 40 years of peace? We wholeheartedly support and will in the future support every proposal that is really aimed at curbing the arms race and restoring trust between peoples, and the conditions for their harmonious cooperation.

Poland will make its worthy contribution to the International Peace Year proclaimed by the United Nations. We want not only 1986 but all the subsequent years facing mankind to be years of peace.

RESOLUTION DEFINES TASKS OF SOCIAL CONTROL ORGAN

LD132002 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 13 May 85

[Text] The Council of State and the Council of Ministers have passed a resolution providing conditions for the effective functioning of the peasants and workers' inspectorate. The inspectorate was established during the 18th plenum of the party Central Committee as a social organ of control to supervise the observance of the principles of social justice and the socialist rule of law.

The resolution defines the tasks of the local organs of state authorities and the state administration organs at various levels in relation to the inspectorate. The coordinating and organizational function has been entrusted to the Supreme Control Chamber. The way in which the social controllers of the inspectorate will be appointed by the voivodship people's councils has also been defined.

INTERIOR MINISTER'S ACCOUNTABILITY REPORT TO SEJM

LD101453 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1209 GMT 10 May 85

[Speech by General Czeslaw Kiszczak, minister of internal affairs, at 10 May Sejm session in Warsaw -- recorded]

[Text] May it please the Sejm: Yet again, in accordance with the accepted principle, I appear at the Sejm to report on the implementation of duties incumbent upon the ministry I head. This is an important form of social control to which we are subordinated in accordance with the laws in force. The interest of the chamber in such matters constitutes a striking confirmation of the realization of the line of socialist renewal mapped out by the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress and the meetings of the party Central Committee, the line accepted and developed by the allied parties and all the patriotic forces. The majority of our society is in favor of this line. This found yet another expression during this year's May Day celebrations.

Calls for disturbances did not find a social response. Nowhere in Poland did the enemy succeed in boycotting the feast of the working class. Only in Gdansk, Warsaw, and Nowa Huta did groups of fanatics and common hooligans attempt to revoke the spirit of pre-December anarchy. These were pitiful, senseless actions, senseless aggression directed against the process of normalization. Polish society has unambiguously confirmed many times that it is in favor of order and respect for the law. The working people want peace and have the right to expect it, as only this peace can guarantee that the aims of socioeconomic development will be achieved.

Recent years have fully proven the correctness of the course chosen. The range of activities in our country is expanding and a clear stabilization is occurring. The numbers of incidents striking at security, order, and internal order is decreasing; also decreasing is the number of people yielding to destabilizing initiatives. By the joint effort of the working class, farmers, and intelligentsia, various barriers and difficulties are being overcome in spite of the exceptionally unfavorable factors, external threats, and internal dangers.

May it please the Sejm, the threat to the key political, economic, and defensive interests of our state from the special services and centers of subversion following the guidelines of the Western, and in particular American, political centers still exists.

Attempts are being made to expand the range of penetration of internal sociopolitical life and of the economic and defensive potential of our country. We are getting more and more signals that Western special services are stepping up their attempts to recruit for spying tasks Polish citizens going to the West. Provocations, blackmail, and other methods of pressure are applied to them to achieve these ends. We have established that the diplomatic offices of certain states and also correspondents accredited in our country, scholarship holders, and even persons with tourist visas are being used more and more frequently for intelligence and subversion activities. The number of persons who have in the past few years been expelled from Poland either for indulging in spying or getting involved in and directly supporting antistate activities, in a manner contrary to diplomatic status, provides proof of this practice.

The spying operation staged by Colonel Myer, the recent participation by two American diplomats in an antistate demonstration in Nowa Huta, and four American citizens detained in a group that was throwing stones at the forces of public order on 3 May in the Krakow market square were examples of the violation of international law and of the law of the state of residence.

One can imagine how the U.S. Government would react in a similar situation towards Polish diplomats in Washington or Chicago.

Ideological and propaganda subversion, which is a permanent element of the United States and certain of its allies' policies toward Poland, is coming more and more under the direct influence of special services. The funds available for the development of subversive propaganda are growing. Last year more than $76 million were allocated for the Radio Free Europe broadcasting station, which at present is under the total control of the Central Intelligence Agency. At intelligence and subversion headquarters in the West, instructions are also being drawn up for our internal enemy, as are antistate scenarios. These are well known.

Recently these scenarios took the form of appeals to go out into the streets or, at the very least, to stage 15-minute strikes -- on 28 February or 1 April, for example -- and then to cause disruptions during the May Day celebrations. In the very near future, no doubt, calls to boycott the elections to the Sejm and to create new social tensions and to disrupt the pre-election atmosphere in the country will be heightened.

Citizen deputies, reporting to the Sejm several times in the last few years about the state of internal security of our state, I indicated that after the well-known shocks and entanglements, not all citizens yet had achieved an internal balance. Though in a decreasing degree, there, nevertheless, continues feelings of hurt and doubt, hesitation and indecision. We are patient and understanding toward such feelings. But, alas, there are also attitudes that demand a decisive condemnation. This concerns the people who wish to disturb the stabilizing processes and thus in fact thwart efforts aimed at overcoming the difficulties our country is still going through.

At the same time, there is a new element in relation to my previous reports: a fully obvious, in its nature anti-Polish and frequently agent-directed element in the main activities of the internal enemy. Who are the people whose hostility to People's Poland and socialism leads further and further toward harming the national interests? Some of them are the ones who have been through various political groupings and various religions. The tendency to change the label under which they act is just as typical for them as is the desire for an easy and profitable life, without the need for honest work, and often at the expense of the foreign protectors. In recent years they have been joined by some played-out personalities of the former Solidarity who failed in their unrealistic calculations and sick ambitions. There are also in this bunch, those who are directed exclusively by the desire for material gain and who have no ideological motives whatsoever. Finally in this circle there are still people who have lost their sense of direction, who are lost, convinced of the noble character of their motives, and also there are those who are unable to free themselves from the influence of the opinion of the leaders of their milieu who terrorize them.

The instigators of activities that strike against the interests of our state and nation ascribe to themselves more often than not the name of the so-called democratic opposition. In reality, they have nothing in common with it, even in the bourgeois-democratic meaning of this definition. For example, they expound the thesis about the alleged alien character of People's Poland for which it is not worth making an effort, or working hard, or even learning in. What they are trying to do is disturb the stability of the state and undermine socialism at all costs, even through the anarchization of life, destruction of the national economy and legal order, and weakening of the groundswell of science and culture that serve the country.

There have even hatched in certain minds -- minds that are particularly self opinionated but which, thankfully, are isolated -- designs to use physical terror. All plans of this kind, which after all are so alien to the political mentality of Poles, we will nip in the bud with all the severity of the law in force. Certain groups, which are

decreasing in number all the time, including those connected with culture provide a platform for the activities of this pseudo-opposition. For example, in these circles there functions the so-called second circulation of literature where there are to be found authors of various classes and levels. One can read various political publications, plain lampoons, and lies, that are copied in illegal brochures and small magazines. They astound one with their self-opinionated one-sidedness and even with their absurdity. These activities, which boil down more and more to the slandering of one's own country and to humiliating servility toward the representatives of states that conduct policies hostile to Poland, are becoming a sorry spectacle. We know its directors and actors, both figuratively speaking and literally.

The influences of the declared opponents of People's Poland are being limited with every passing day. In a natural manner individual professional groups are tidying up their own matters and more and more representatives of these groups are constructively joining in in solving our difficult national problems.

The implementation of the program of the Ninth PZPR Congress, one of accord and struggle, acts in favor of these positive processes. Faithful to this policy, we reiterate that it is not essential where a person comes from, but rather what his current personal behavior is, what he is doing for the real socialist Poland. We will continue to act consistently in this way. The so-called political underground continues to strive to have a negative influence on the processes of stabilization in Poland. We do not make light of this phenomenon, although a clearly perceptible evolution is occurring within it when compared with the state of affairs I described to the esteemed Sejm on 5 December 1983: a deepening of the internal divisions between various cliques, rivalry among themselves for an ostensible influence on the public, which in essence is increasingly frequently a bid for the largest portion of the foreign subsidies to be more precise, the subsidies of the Western special services.

According to our information, which is of quite profound extent, a conglomeration of about 300 illegal groupings and structures exists in Poland, each containing between a few and a dozen or so persons -- all in all, about 1,500 declared enemies of socialism. The common denominator among them has been and is the aim of damaging the socialist state in every sector. Some of these are not always fully aware just who it is, and what ends they are serving. The majority of the persons from the so-called underground do not work in a profession. But there are also cases in which they view their official employment as tactical camouflage for their activities and real incomes. These are not in essence incomes drawn in zlotys. Using dollars and other Western currencies smuggled into the country in various ways, apartments and cars are hired and cellars and attics are converted for carrying out conspiratorial activities. Illegal publications and leaflets are printed for dollars. The lure of the dollar today represents the strongest ideological argument of an underground that has nothing in common with genuine trade union issues, with the vital problems of working people.

The so-called conspirators wish to appear as national heroes. They think that the whole society admires them. An interesting illustration of this kind of thinking is in a publication issued last year in Paris in which one of the knights of the underground in a very unknightly, insulting manner, speaks about Polish women, confessing among other things: We frequently change apartments and we have noticed that, as a rule, landladies love us and they would give their bodies to any of the illegals. And then he states: A beautiful landlady would like to love and adore, give herself without bounds, but on the other hand, the very same lady with the very last button buttoned up to her navel [as heard] whispers: You are a diamond in the community. I apologize to the citizen deputies for this kind of quote, but I think that it illustrates quite well the mentality and morality of a part of the underground at least.

May it please the Sejm, for a dozen or so months we have been watching the steady process of decomposition of conspiratorial activity. More and more people break away from it. In the so-called Provisional Coordinating Commission (TKK) of Solidarity, which was to be the leading organ of the illegal activity, only one founding member remains. The others have either been detained by the security service or have come out availing themselves of the amnesty. Currently the total of the activity of the TKK is in signing protests, appeals, and statements usually worked out in accordance with the foreign instructions by various advisers.

We try to understand various, often accidental, factors or motives that encouraged various people to cooperate with the underground. We are aware that some of them are simply lost. That is why we do not always make a decision to radically resolve by penal means all occurrences of conspiracy, even though with the available intelligence, we are capable of doing it.

We eliminate only extreme and dangerous instances. We are counting on the fact that this problem will be solved, thanks primarily to political activities. The correctness of the line of action is confirmed by the latest two amnesty decrees passed by the house. Only a few persons who have availed themselves of these amnesties have again embarked on activities contrary to the law.

At present 148 persons who have committed crimes against the state or public order are in penal establishments or in prison. Of these, 8 persons were imprisoned under legally binding sentences and 140 are under temporary arrest. There are also 11 persons in penal establishments who have not availed themselves of the 1984 amnesty because they committed crimes not covered by this amnesty. These include, among others, the murderers of Sergeant Zdzislaw Karos and members of a terrorist group from Legnica. In addition, the four persons who kidnapped and murdered Father Jerzy Popieluszko are serving out a sentence of deprivation of freedom.

There has been a great fuss made recently about the arrest of Bogdan Lis, Adam Michnik, and Wladyslaw Frasyniuk. These are persons who are particularly active and interested in portraying Poland as a politically unstable country, a country of political prisoners.

After the 1984 amnesty it was necessary to use force to get some of them out of prison. At present, their demonstrations and downright provocative attacks on the legal order were carried out, one must presume, from the same motives. They want to be in collision with the law because this inflames and warms up the atmosphere and provides a grateful topic to foreign political and propaganda centers.

This inglorious group has expanded through the addition of recently arrested Czeslaw Bielecki, head of the illegal CDN [CIAG DALSZY NASTAPI, or TO BE CONTINUED] publication, using the alias of (Maciej Poleski) who has been an agent of political subversion centers for many years and who was supposed to have been illegally transferred to Paris, on the instructions of the Central Intelligence Agency, in order to assume after Giedrojc the management of the Paris KULTURA. In the view of the Americans, Giedrojc is now an old piece of furniture not of much use.

The arrested Bielecki, whose only link with Poland is that he was born here and gained higher education here, apart from other activity performed at the order of the Western sponsors, applied a particularly low method. He sent copies of medals and diplomas given by the tsar for putting down the January uprising in 1863, which were produced in the West, to honest and noble people, among them even those who during World War I shed their blood for Poland and its independence, and also to the distinguished creators of Polish culture and science, just because they want to live and work for their country, the PPR.

We do not want political prisoners in Poland. We called many times for those people to cool down. We warned against the consequences of adventurist, antistate activities. We cannot, and we will not tolerate, however, activity aimed against Poland. If the so-called underground tries to maintain its existence, if it is renewing appeals for organizing disturbances and boycotts, then it is doing it in a foreign, anti-Polish interest. Recently we presented to the public the documents of the Brussels office of Solidarity. We would not like to broadcast any more similar television series. Unfortunately their main actors provide us with more and more evidence. The documents demonstrated that antisocialist emigree centers and the Polish underground structures financed by them, have become an office serving foreign interest. A clear mechanism has emerged. Printing equipment, technical communications, intelligence equipment [as heard] and money are supplied from the West.

Frequently the so-called humanitarian aid, in the shape of gifts and parcels is used for this purpose. Anyway, they often do not get to the people who need such assistance, but are an additional support for the people who are well-off, in particular those in the opposition. In the opposite direction requests are made for information for the people who are working directly or indirectly for intelligence. Those who are involved in this kind of activity should not have any illusions -- they must know they are being dragged into espionage. It is in this manner that data is acquired concerning our economy, plans for development, cooperation with other countries, or even defense capabilities.

A political price has to be paid for Western donations. Sums invested in antisocialist activity are not a sign of the West's charity. Approval and support for the donors' policy is demanded in exchange, however anti-Polish and immoral it is. We learned about this when praise and encouragement came from the local and emigre antisocialist circles for the restrictions directed against our nation. At the same time, among the people from these circles who were so generously fencing with patriotic slogans, there was not even one expression of protest against the disgraceful event in Bitburg, nor was there any condemnation of the insult to Poles, the French film "Shoah," a film that also slanders the Polish Roman Catholic Church. One question arises here: Why did the so-called opposition, the underground, not express an opinion on this matter, even with one word, although they do not lack occasions and opportunities, proof of which is various statements issued almost every day through Western publications and broadcasting stations? The answer is simple: The West will stop paying.

The example some time ago of a well-known journalist who, despite having referred for a long time to the highest patriotic and moral values, unscrupulously slandered the PPR and was not averse to taking a considerable amount of money for this particular contribution, illustrates this sort of attitude. His receipt for DM26,500 is among the evidence collected by the ministry. We explain precisely the reason for this generosity: It is known that even the rich FRG does not give money to anyone for nothing. We know many other people who receive dollars and marks, and maybe one day we shall reveal their names. Some of them are quite well known.

May it please the Sejm, it is one of the duties of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW], which has been laid down by law, to ensure that society has the opportunity to live, work, and rest in conditions of order, calm, and public order. The importance of this task derives also from the fact that socialism deems it one of its main principles to care about people, their life, health, and property. It can be seen how profoundly this principle has embedded itself in the minds of the people from the numerous suggestions and opinions of the working people concerning the issue of combating criminality. That is why the MSW is treating this problem not only as a question of order, but also as a political issue. It is a point of honor for the militia and the security service that everyone should feel safe in the street and at home, at work and on leave. Despite the great commitment of the MSW functionaries to this task,

the number of felonies in recent years has continued to increase and many people have been victims of crime. In 1984 there were 539,000 crimes, that is 15 percent more than in the previous year.

In the same period there were 378,000 criminal offenses, that is about 10 percent more than in the previous year. In the first quarter of 1985 the rate of increase in criminality declined, and in some categories there was a clear decline. This results from various intensified activities of the militia, courts, prosecutors, and other institutions. We consider this a positive fact, although it does not imply a permanent trend. There has also been an improvement in the rate of detection of criminal offenses, which reached 75 percent in the first quarter of this year. This is a result that would be considered fully satisfactory by prosecution organs in many countries. The effectiveness of the militia in investigating many crimes, particularly killings, robberies, and rapes, has clearly increased. We are utilizing all internal reserves to enhance efficiency, but this still leaves a lot to be desired and such are also the feelings of the community. I wish to stress, however, that the index of criminal threat is several times lower than in most Western countries. It is significant that, despite the lies deliberately disseminated, there are in Poland per 100,000 inhabitants, considerably fewer militiamen than, say, policemen in France, Belgium, Italy, FRG or Great Britain.

Criminal offenses can be traced back to the pathology of the violations of social discipline. The steps taken to date by the state authorities and the resolutions of the Sejm, which in October 1982 adopted three statutes on combating drunkenness and alcoholism, work shirking, and demoralization of juveniles have been yielding certain positive results. Citizen Lech Domeradzki, minister of justice, spoke extensively about this at the previous Sejm session. However, these are not satisfactory results. For instance, the number of persons dependent on drugs is estimated to be approximately 35,000, and the number of persons inclined toward this addiction is estimated to be approximately 200,000. According to militia statistics more than 15,000 drug addicts have come into conflict with the law. During 1 year the Citizens' Militia apprehends approximately 17,000 juveniles who are without care and who are liable to demoralization. It also receives into militia children's homes approximately 17,000 juveniles. It brings to sobering-up stations, or detains until they sober up, approximately 370,000 persons. Industrial guards have detected more than 50,000 persons under the influence of alcohol attempting to enter their workplace while under the influence, or attempting to bring alcohol to their workplace.

The number of people who do not sow and who do not reap, but who live at the expense of society by being its obvious parasites, continues to be considerable despite a certain reduction having taken place. I feel it is my duty to state that the statute on social parasitism in its present form, which was toned down as compared to the government draft, unfortunately does not provide full opportunities for effectively combating this phenomenon.

The Citizens' Militia, prosecutors, courts, and control organs, have intensified their activity in detecting economic crimes, in particular those that are very harmful to society. In 1984 some 173 of the so-called affairs have been revealed, that is, cases of theft of common property on a very large scale and, in collusion with other persons. This is approximately 120 percent more than in the previous year. There were 600, that is, an increase of more than 32 percent, preliminary proceedings started in the cases of theft of public property of great value. The number of detected acts of economic mismanagement has increased by almost 70 percent. Thefts from the workplace are a frequent phenomenon. It happens that employees entrusted with the protection of property steal it. In the first quarter of this year the industrial security service and other specialized protection units supervised by the MSW detected nearly 10,000

cases of appropriations of property worth approximately Z100 million and detained more than 5,500 perpetrators. The amendment to legal regulations adopted by the house, which made it easier to combat bribery, has resulted in a 6-percent increase in detection of criminal bribery, and a 15-percent increase in detected cases of bribery of public servants. However, the struggle against this crime requires further intensified efforts.

Despite the preventive action by the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare the phenomenon of abuse of medical certificates for sick leave continues. In 1984 the industrial health service, which looks after approximately 5 million employees, issued medical certificates for nearly 87 million days off work. It is also common knowledge that some of these certificates are used for moonlighting or extra holidays. There are also cases of persons with medical certificates even taking part in trips abroad.

Housing construction remains one of the most socially sensitive issues. It is thus paticularly alarming to see the mess at construction sites that causes enormous losses. Despite the fact that these matters are receiving urgent consideration and in the correct manner by the departments concerned and that they are the subject of constant concern to the citizen deputies, we still have to deal with numerous examples of waste, theft, materials leakage and other negative phenomena. It is not the MSW's business to take a stand on the organizational affairs of the construction industry and the way of utilizing the existing housing pool. We concern ourselves with these matters only when there is a violation of the law in force. I want to take the opportunity to point out the apparent usefulness of the new regulations, which would enable the housing authorities to slate for the most urgent social housing needs those so-called empty dwellings and considerable surplus dwelling areas that are used for, among other things, purposes at variance with the law, for example as an underground meeting place, illegal printshop, distribution point, and pickup point.

Situations in which the size of the utility area per person can only amaze the average citizen also require the appropriate normalization. For example, one of the leading activists of the so-called opposition, his mouth full of cliches about the hard life of the working class, including criticism of the authorities' housing policy, occupies on his own a luxury apartment in Warsaw, which has a utility area of almost 115 cubic meters, that was once allocated to his father, one of the so-called prominent persons from the period of errors and distortions. I believe that this kind of case -- and there is no small number of them on the national scale -- should be more widely treated with the application of the criteria of social justice. The housing authorities must devote more attention to widespread cases, particularly in large urban agglomerations, of renting apartments to foreigners for undue profit and not in accordance with financial and tax regulations. The procedure for taking over apartments from so-called deserters, and handing them over to the most needy families, especially worker families, should be simplified and accelerated.

The plague of vandalism and wanton destruction of means of transportation, communications, and communal installations is not abating. At the end of 1983, because of the great threat to rail transport and the security of passengers and their property, the Council of Ministers' Committee for the Observance of the Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline initiated the well known monitoring and disciplinary operations in railroad areas, and these are still in effect today. From then until the end of the first quarter of 1985 nearly 2,000 crimes and almost 400,000 transgressions were established. More than 2,000 perpetrators of crimes were caught red-handed, and also more than 16,000 inebriated persons were apprehended who were disturbing the peace and quiet of passengers. Unfortunately, those inebriated included a certain number of persons directly responsible for the safety of rail traffic. It should be noted that because of the efforts of the Ministry of Transportation leadership an improvement is taking place, which is still not satisfactory. It also is not possible for a functionary

of the Citizens' Militia to keep an eye on every train car and every telephone booth.

Guided by the guidelines of the 16th PZPR Central Committee Plenum the Council of Ministers' Committee intensified in 1984 the monitoring and verification activities in the nonsocialized sector, in private manufacturing industry, in trade industries, in the services sector, and in Polonia firms. These activities are being carried out mainly by forces of the Supreme Chamber of Control, financial organs, the State Trade Inspectorate, the Citizens' Militia and, recently, also of the Workers'-Peasant Inspectorate. To date 150,000 units have been checked. Criminal activity was detected in one out of five of these units for which charges were made in regard to more than 32,000 persons, and approximately 800 persons were placed under temporary arrest. In addition, nearly 26,000 transgressions were noted.

Financial organs have meted out fines of Z1.3 billion to persons against which penal fiscal proceedings are in progress. Property worth Z2.5 billion, including many villas, luxury cars, jewellery, foreign money and other items of value, has been confiscated on account of possible further monetary fines.

The state administration bodies were given 1,879 recommendations to withdraw licenses for business activity. So far local administration bodies have withdrawn licenses in 565 cases only. The state supports active and honest economic activity in the private sector. It is a lasting premise. However, it will not be lenient with people who act against the public interest. In this context I want to stress that the elimination of various irregularities in economic life that reflect negatively on production, the state of market supplies, and the population's living standard cannot occur only through repressive and legal actions. A widely understood preventive policy, elimination of the sources of evil, and an immediate reaction to even the smallest signs of evil by the enterprise administration and by political and social organizations, by employee self-governments, and by trade unions are indispensable here.

The problem of the fight against crime and social pathology phenomena requires similar social reactions. Social passivity, which does not occur rarely, is an obstacle in fighting crime. I state with regret that many people do not feel they are obliged as citizens to help the prosecuting bodies in situations that justify this socially and morally. This is expressed, among other things, by the refusal to testify, or by preventing the collection of full evidence. This causes low efficiency in some cases in prosecuting perpetrators of crime. It is in effect an act against society and thus against oneself. Actually, it is convenient for the political opponent. He inspires the slandering of the law-and-order bodies, prosecuting bodies, and the administration of justice, seeing in this one way to isolate us from society's necessary assistance and support and to accuse later the militia bodies of poor efficiency and effectiveness.

Social reeducation of criminals, parasites, or drunkards is hardly noticeable. The effectiveness of influencing these people by work enterprises, schools, social and professional organizations, or institutions of acknowledged moral authority is highly inadequate. There is enormous scope for action here for the people's councils, their commissions and the councillors themselves, school inspectors, social guardians and other self-management bodies equipped with considerable and varied powers. I wish to give my assurance to the house that the MSW and its services will do everything within their capabilities and competence to achieve progress in combating criminality. However, without a clear activation of the social system for preventing evil, for which I have already appealed a number of times, also from this very place, it will be difficult to achieve a radical improvement. The state authorities treat with full seriousness criticism addressed to them and draw conclusions from it. It is also essential, however, to carry out a social self-evaluation, including taking moral joint responsibility for the existing state of affairs.

The public, particularly the working class and the working people, expressed their attitude among others at the national delegate conference and at the 16th and 17th Central Committee Plenums, and demanded a tougher and more efficient fight against social pathology. Opinions of a similar nature were also expressed during the electoral campaign in the ZSL and the SD. The same requests were made at the forum of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. Taking such suggestions into consideration, the Council of Ministers' Committee for Observance of the Law, Public Order and Social Discipline has initiated amendments to the current penal law concerning criminality, the drafts of which are being presented to the house here today. The proposed legal regulations have been submitted for social consultation. The decisive majority of society fully supports them.

I do not hide the fact that there have also been opinions expressed against the proposed changes, including from institutions and persons who have social authority. There was a similar situation during the debate on the law on proceedings against people shirking work, a law adopted in 1982 by the Sejm. Life quickly demonstrated that if one yields to this kind of opinion there is a significant weakening of the results expected. The former opponents have become silent, and we are being criticized in the meantime for ineffectiveness and helplessness. Of course we do not consider the laws which intensify penal repressions as the mainstream of crime-prevention activity. We treat them as instruments, mainly of a provisional nature, which assist us, which can be given up as soon as it is ascertained that they favorably influenced an improvement in the situation.

Citizen deputies: A few months ago public opinion was shaken by the kidnapping and murder of Father Jerzy Popieluszko by MSW functionaries. In connection with this case I wish to state publicly once again -- this time from this lofty Sejm rostrum -- that this was an isolated deed, totally contrary to the legal norms and ideological and political norms binding on the functionaries of the security service and the Citizens' Militia. This was an act of extreme lawlessness. The investigation, the trial in Torun, and the final sentence of the Supreme Court passed recently have confirmed that the MSW, like other organs of the state administration, did not stand and does not stand above the law. They proved that there is only one kind of law in our state and it must be respected equally by everyone, regardless of who infringes it and what kind of clothes they wear. The criminal proceedings in this case were open and public, and the community was given detailed and objective information about its progress. That is why we resolutely reject any insinuations formulated against this backdrop. It was also not the court or the authorities who politicized the trial. This was done by the politicos who cynically scavenged on the death of Father Popieluszko. They are supported by crude foreign propaganda, in particular from the countries where mass anarchy is spreading, where the perpetrators of famous crimes have not yet been uncovered despite the passage of many years, where churches are being closed and clergy arrested because they spoke in favor of the right to work. Such examples are commonly known. It is easy to criticize Poland without good reason rather than to tidy up one's own affairs.

The trial at which the perpetrators of Jerzy Popieluszko's murder were sentenced did not provide reasons confirming the existence of instigators of this deed. However, I wish to give my assurance to the house that if in the future any unknown circumstance comes to light proving the existence of such persons, we shall immediately undertake the appropriate investigative activities and will inform the public about it.

The MSW has drawn far-reaching conclusions from the murder of Father Popieluszko. We have implemented essential measures in the organization sphere. Party work has been intensified. The political and training service has been reinforced. At all service levels, in-depth personnel verifications have been carried out, as a result of which certain personnel changes have been made, including some leadership posts. We are undertaking many other activities aimed at ensuring that there is no future repetition of violations of the socialist rule of the law.

These matters received strong expression during the accountability and election conference of the MSW's district party organization in March 1985. Taking part in it was Comrade Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee, who made us more aware of matters pertaining to law and order, and who formulated in particular a number of specific tasks from the viewpoint of ideological and training activity.

Against the backdrop of the Father Popieluszko case, certain issues requiring that particular care be taken concerning the proper state of relations between the state and the church have also surfaced. At this point I wish to state that contrary to various kinds of charges, the MSW does not concern itself with the church as such in the same way as, after all, it does not concern itself with any other social or denominational group or professional organization. However, it does concern itself -- and this is its duty as defined by statute -- with activities of groups or individual persons which are contrary to the law and the vital interests of the state, even if those participating in such activity are members of the clergy.

However, I wish to use this opportunity to stress that we defend in the same way as we defend other national values the property of the church against thieves and vandals, and we ensure the general security of the clergy. The effectiveness of the militia's operations in the fight against such a specific form of crime as breaking into and entering church premises and stealing church property is high. Last year it was established that 496 acts of this kind took place. The perpetrators in almost 69 percent of these crimes were apprehended. An even higher figure, more than 75 percent, was achieved in cases where theft occurred to the detriment of priests. Property of considerable value, including objects which were sometimes priceless, was retrieved.

The MSW ensures order and security at various religious mass events. In particular, much effort was made to protect the visit of John Paul II in our fatherland. This found expression in his public appreciation. Thus our functionaries feel even more hurt by unfounded accusations addressed to them, such as those recently made in connection with the much publicised affair of Father Zaleski in Krakow.

May it please the house, state-church relations are based on constitutional principles. The authorities staunchly support continuation of the dialogue between the state and the church at all levels and treat this as an integral part of national accord. There are many levels of social life at which cooperation between the state and the church is necessary for the good of the people. This view is shared and is realized by the majority of clergy and bishops. Their pastoral activity has been characterized by concern for the development of the country and Poland's good name in the world. But there are, noticed not just by the authorities, some clergy who adopt a different stance. In particular, in some churches and other sacred establishments, events have been organized during which material of a clearly inflammatory and antistate character has been presented. Among other things, shows with a tendentiously selected repertoire are being held. There are known cases when church premises have been made available for various opposition elements, including nonreligious people, who introduce elements that have little to do with religion. Hunger strikes have been organized. The atmosphere is enhanced by specific decorations, slogans, external decorations of some church premises, and by songs sung with appropriately altered texts. It happens that participants, thus incited, later come out onto streets and commit actions contrary to the law. All this causes well-founued concern among the public, including the faithful, which is often expressed in numerous letters and statements.

We are fully aware that there are forces in the West which are not pleased by the progressing normalization in Poland. They are thus interested in causing conflict situations, including setting the state against the church. Knowing the realism and the feeling of civic responsibility of the majority of the Polish clergy, we hope that they will fail. As far as we are concerned, we continue to declare unfailingly our goodwill.

Citizen deputies, there are ideologically committed, selfless cadres serving in the ranks of the security service and the militia. We highly evaluate their readiness for the performance of this difficult, socially responsible profession that requires so many sacrifices. The MSW functionaries are honest people, solidly performing their duties, aware of their serving role toward the state and the community.

Of course, here too there happen to be exceptions, as with every professional or social milieu. The MSW leadership attaches great importance to shaping the correct moral and political state of the cadres and their high level of discipline. Of great assistance to us in this respect were the directives of the 17th and 18th PZPR Central Committee Plenums.

I have already informed the house several times about our process of purging our ranks. The mass media continue to report cases of dishonest functionaries being brought to account and expelled. We do not wish to hide this, and we are not hiding it. The MSW -- as I have already often stated many times in public -- is open to criticism, providing it is honest and factual. The overcoming of weaknesses strengthens us, strengthens our bond with the community, and allows us to act flexibly and effectively.

On the other hand, we resolutely reject unjustified criticism and the slandering of the good name of our functionaries. Our only goal is to protect the state and society against external hostile activity and to ensure international peace and the personal security of citizens. We are not an institution that places itself above the law. We do not act for ourselves but serve the state and the nation. We act in accordance with its supreme interests. We are all state functionaries under the PZPR's ideological and political direction. Service within the MSW is arduous and even quite often dangerous. The fact that since my previous speech to the esteemed house -- that is, since December 1983 -- 14 functionaries of the security service and the Citizens' Militia have died while performing their duties and 135 have been wounded gives eloquent testimony of this.

Issues within the ministry are a continual subject for the work of the Sejm Commission for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice. We highly value its interest in the ministry's work, its help and suggestions. We will continue to listen attentively to all the remarks, submissions, and proposals made by the citizen deputies. The commission is aware of the difficult conditions in which a considerable number of the functionaries and soldiers of the ministry serve, and also of their medical, social, and welfare problems. Very many militia posts are situated in obsolete premises, sometimes in private buildings, in conditions that make a mockery of all the principles for the functioning of this service. Approximately 22,000 functionaries are without apartments. There are 34 percent fewer hospital beds available per 10,000 who make use of the ministry's medical services than in the open medical service. There are also inadequate levels of employment of doctors and auxiliary staff. And yet, after all, approximately 120,000 patients from outside the ministry avail themselves of our medical services. These are just a few examples of the unfavorable conditions of service of the MSW functionaries. The process of resolving these and other social welfare problems has been undertaken with the active support of the Sejm Commission for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice. But for palpable results to be achieved, financial resources and time are required.

May it please the house: The people's state, its internal and external security, are the guarantees of the permanence and development of socialism in Poland. The life of citizens, their personal security and an unwavering feeling of social justice are particularly cherished values of our system. Observance of the law ensures the unshakable structure of the operation and development of a socialist society. The PZPR, the allied parties, all social forces who are represented in the people's parliament, and all organs of the state administration, including the MSW, will consistently and doggedly guard these values. [applause]

FESTIVE MEETING MARKS CSSR LIBERATION ANNIVERSARY

AU091742 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 May 85 p 5

[Excerpts] On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation from fascist domination, a festive meeting organized by the RCP Committee of the Bucharest municipality took place at the Bucharest National Theater, on 6 May.

Comrades Nicolae Constantin, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and deputy prime minister of the government; Ion Stoian, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee; Tamara Maria Dobrin, chairman of the Executive Bureau of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front; Ilie Vaduva, deputy chairman of the Grand National Assembly; and Constantin Oancea, deputy minister of foreign affairs, attended the meeting. The meeting was also attended by Jan Papp, CSSR ambassador to Romania and by other members of the embassy.

The national anthems of the CSSR and of the SR of Romania were played.

The meeting was opened by Comrade Nicolae Croitoru, secretary of the Bucharest RCP Committee.

Comrade Nicoale Constantin spoke about the significance of the 40th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation from fascist domination.

Stressing the intensive international activity carried out by our party and state, the speaker said: Socialist Romania has asserted itself and is acting with a high spirit of responsibility -- something which is an important factor in the struggle waged to eliminate the danger of a new war -- based on the ideas, documents, and concepts of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, a prominent personality of the contemporary world, who enjoys high prestige and a broad audience in the international arena. Our country speaks out for an immediate halting or freezing of nuclear armaments in general and for halting the deployment of intermediate-range missiles in Europe as well as the Soviet counter-measures, something that would create an atmosphere of confidence and would influence the successful unfolding of the Geneva negotiations. The RCP and the SR of Romania are firmly acting to consolidate and develop cooperation with all socialist countries, primarily with neighboring countries. Within this framework, the speaker said, we do everything possible to develop multifaceted cooperation with the USSR. We believe that strengthening the solidarity and unity of socialist countries is, under the current circumstances, an important factor for increasing the prestige and force of socialism and for disarmament, peace, and social progress. In this context the speaker stressed the fact that the traditional Romanian-Czechoslovak friendship, strongly consolidated by the blood jointly shed in the struggle waged for Czechoslovakia's liberation from fascist occupation, has gained new content following the establishment of people's power in the two countries. The motive power of our cooperation, the speaker said, is the ties between the RCP and the CPCZ. Meetings and talks between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Gustav Husak, which each time gained richer content and opened up new prospects for mutual relations, have a decisive importance for the ascendant evolution of Romanian-Czechoslovak relations of friendship and cooperation.

In concluding his speech, the speaker extended warm congratulations to all Czechoslovak Communists and working people for the outstanding achievements they attained, and wished them complete success in implementing the decisions of the 16th CPCZ Congress for the prosperity of Socialist Czechoslovakia.

DJURANOVIC ON ECONOMY, SECURITY SITUATION

AU082048 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Apr, 1-2 May 85 pp 1-3

[Interview with Veselin Djuranovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, by Aleksandar Bakocevic, chief and responsible editor of POLITIKA; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] Bakocevic: Four decades have passed since the victory over fascism. How do you look at the commemoration of victory Day in the world?

Djuranovic: One need only to know that World War II claimed 50 million lives, that millions of families were bereaved, and that it destroyed tremendous material and cultural goods, particularly in countries that were exposed to fascist aggression, in order to comprehend the tragedy of this greatest cataclysm of humanity.

World War II, luckily, could not lead to mankind's self-annihilation, because the human mind had not yet reached weapons of such destructive power. Now, 40 years later, if another world war were to start and nuclear weapons were used, mankind's self-annihilation would be inevitable, and we should not doubt it.

Precisely for this reason, when we mark the 40th anniversary of the victory over the dark forces of fascism and remember the horrible scenes of human suffering, mankind must do everything to pull itself back from the abyss of self-annihilation. Peace-loving, progressive, and democratic forces, regardless of their political and religious persuasion or national and racial peculiarities, faced with the specter of fascism, found the strength and the sense to unite and to save mankind from the slavery prepared by Hitler. Bearing in mind the power of nuclear weapons today, and pressed by the horrid foreboding of the possible destruction of the human race, there is more basis than ever for the victory of human reason, and thus, also more hope. Therefore, it is the necessary duty of all forces of peace and democracy, progress and humanity, to find a common language, to agree and unite in the struggle for peace, in the interest of the survival of human civilization.

Bakocevic: Yugoslav socialist self-management is the only road to our development. What in your opinion, at the present time, as well as in the long run, should be done so that the development of self-management is continued on the original principles of the Yugoslav revolution?

Djuranovic: At this time, but also in the long run, the vital interest of our country's workers class -- as a whole and of any of its parts -- is the creation of the necessary socioeconomic prerequisites so that the cause of the alienation of income from workers in associated labor is eliminated. This means we must liberate associated labor from the statist-nationalist restrictions and collusions through a further advancement above all of the systemic solutions in the field of planning, the foreign exchange system, and the monetary and credit policy on the one hand, and through the efficient and united action of the socialist forces headed by the LC in a consistent and creative realization of the constitutional principles on the other. It is impossible to reconcile demands for strengthening the market criteria, that is, demands for higher productivity and greater effectiveness and efficiency of economic operations, with the policy and practice of shutting the currents of social reproduction within republican and provincial borders. Under the conditions of development of self-managing production relations, there can be no development of production forces without the functioning of a unified Yugoslav market and without the association of labor and pooling of resources at the federal level.

This essentially implies the creation of the necessary socioeconomic conditions enabling the worker in associated labor to control the results of his work, the income which he creates, and the vital currents of social reproduction. The development of society's production forces depends on an effective implementation of the socialist self-managing system of a countrywide scale.

Bakocevic: How do you assess the present political and security situation in our country?

Djuranovic: The basic characteristic of the present political moment is a more offensive and organized social activity in overcoming many open questions about which there have been different stands for a long time and because of which the activity in solving economic and social questions has been largely blocked. These questions have been planned for discussion or will soon be posed. Among these are the implementation of the anti-inflation program, adopting the new bill on self-managing social planning, new systemic solutions in the field of economic relations with foreign countries, establishing a policy of quicker development of republican and provincial economies which are insufficiently developed, including the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, and concluding activities on the critical analysis of the functioning of our political system. A positive turn in this direction has come as a result of the several month long general party action intended to strengthen ideopolitical and action unity in the LCY. I would point out as very important the fact that the course of further democratization of our society has been stressed in the present time, and in this way we are consolidating our position along the basic line of our revolutionary development.

A resolute and efficacious struggle against all forms of nationalism has a special significance for our political-security situation. For a long time we were on the defensive in this respect. A more aggressive manifestation of nationalism and an increase of clericonationalism as well, have been spreading discomfort among people. It is necessary to unmask the political and economic essence of nationalism in present conditions and on this basis cut it at its roots. Ideopolitical struggle against nationalism presupposes revealing its political and economic essence -- even more so because not everything is a consequence of the past dark heritage. Nationalism is also feeding on errors that appear during socialist development. One should repeat here that it is necessary to establish a united front against nationalism, and, according to the good old rule, one should fight nationalism in one's own community.

The political situation is greatly exacerbated by the high price increase and the fall in the standard of living, as well as the delay in production and exports that occurred at the beginning of this year. At this moment this is the most unfavorable element of the political situation.

Bakocevic: You recently spoke about the need for the federation to function more efficaciously. What are the political and economic obstacles to the more efficacious coordination and realization of common interests in the federation?

Djuranovic: I think that we would have had fewer problems had we more efficaciously and consistently implemented constitutional solutions pertaining to the character and functioning of the federation. What I primarily mean here is the socioeconomic development, relations, and system, and the coordination of relations among republics and provinces. The Constitution has very clearly defined all basic principles on which the functioning of a united Yugoslav market should be based. We are still far from that in practice. Critical analysis of the functioning of the political system must answer that question.

The only alternative to the present unfavorable situation in coordinating and implementing the common interests of associated labor, that is, of republics and provinces within the functioning of the federation, is to consistently implement basic orientations within the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program.

The Conflict of Centralized and Decentralized Statism

Bakocevic: While you were president of the Federal Executive Council you considered that it was republic-provincial statism which had torn up Yugoslav associated labor. What would you add to the assessment today?

Djuranovic: The correct assessment is that statism, observed on the whole, has torn up associated labor, and since statism on the republican and provincial levels was on the rise, its influence was also increasing. I am emphasizing this because it should be clearly said that our central problem is to solve the contradiction between socialist self-management and statism to the benefit of self-managing socialist relations, and not to allow the domination of the confrontation between decentralized and centralized statisms and between statisms at different levels, which is to a great extent our situation today, and which is hampering the development of socialist self-management.

I think that awareness of the damage which decentralized statism has inflicted on us has now been strengthened. The adoption of the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program essentially contributed to this awareness. The problem is, however, that this awareness is maturing slowly, and the consequences are grave. A reduction of statism [deetatizacija] and decentralization are progressive processes, because they are the way to destroy centralist bureaucratism and statism. Their progressive capacity, however, must be measured by the extent to which they broaden the scope for mastering income and social reproduction by the workers in associated labor. For the time being, this scope has been restricted to a great extent because of the power of decentralized statism, which frequently has assumed the guise of representating the interests of associated labor. This has distorted awareness of the very essence of self-management, and at the same time has made it difficult to recognize in time the true face of the protagonists of decentralized statist tendencies. All this has encouraged and continues to encourage initiatives for a return to centralist regulation and interventionism on the part of the federal state, which allegedly is the only way out of the crisis. It is superfluous to talk about the dangers of such a "way out" of the crisis.

Bakocevic: Views diverge on how the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program is being implemented. Extremes are often manifested in public assessments. Would you please comment?

Djuranovic: I would not say that views are divided on whether one is late in implementing the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program, and especially its second stage. Another question is more important: What are the reasons for the delay, and are we not facing disunity with regard to some basic provisions contained in the Long-Term Program and to resistance to the implementation of these provisions? Now, when some basic questions of the stabilization program implementation are on the agenda, we are facing differences in the interpretation of some of these provisions. If this is a consequence of the differences between the solutions offered (The Planning Law, proposals for new solutions in the foreign exchange system, and so forth) and the provisions of the Long-Term Program which have arisen because of some new aspects and assessments about the inevitability of transitional provisions, this is one thing. It is another thing, however, if this is a consequence of a defense of positions attained in the market and in the earning and distribution of income.

It would be necessary to distinguish these things. If it is a matter of resistance to the implementation of the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program, a different political and ideological, as well as action approach is necessary; if, however, it is a matter of an insufficient or incomplete harmonization of the solutions offered and the basic provisions, it can be overcome by constructive discussion within the existing procedure.

Bakocevic: The SFRY Presidency recently addressed the SFRY Assembly in connection with the implementation of economic stabilization. Has this yielded any result?

Djuranovic: Such a way of addressing the SFRY Assembly is in conformity with the constitutional right of the Presidency to propose a determination of internal and foreign policy. Considering that at the time the process of determining the policy of socioeconomic development in 1985 was beginning, the Presidency assessed that it should contribute to the determination of this policy and it pointed out some of the most significant problems of particular importance for a realistic determination of the goals and tasks of the socioeconomic development at the present moment.

Discussions conducted in assembly working bodies about these assessments and positions have confirmed that such an address by the Presidency to the SFRY Assembly was fitting.

I wish to remark that the SFRY Presidency will in the coming period strive to further develop the practice of a more active attitude toward the most important problems of determining the internal and foreign policies in the SFRY Assembly, in conformity with constitutional rights and relations, of course.

Deeper and Long-Term Causes of the Country's Large Debt.

Bakocevic: Yugoslavia's borrowing in the past decade is again being much discussed by the public. There have been several different statements and commentaries on this. How do you regard this period?

Djuranovic: In my view, the causes that led to the great debt of the country are deeper and long-term in nature. In order to arrive, in fact, at an objective assessment of its causes, it is necessary to go back to an analysis of the development policy of the country throughout a longer period.

There is a separate question, which in many aspects is most essential, as to why additional accumulation from abroad did not yield a higher income and a higher foreign exchange inflow, although in the 1976-1980 period, according to rough estimates, equipment worth about $13 billion was imported. This certainly has its causes which would not be difficult to explain. Our situation now could be much better had the additional accumulation from abroad been directed to where it was most necessary and in a way that was most economical.

Of course, it is very difficult to present a satisfactory answer in 20 lines. I think, however, that the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program contains in essence an assessment of the causes of this problem.

Bakocevic: It was unanimously assessed in the discussion about the functioning of the political system that the influence of associated labor on decisionmaking in the SFRY Assembly is small. Where do you see the causes of such a situation?

Djuranovic: It is not a problem of "small influence," but a problem of exerting a decisive role of associated labor, for this "small influence" is being exerted in a certain way.

Likewise, it is not a question only of the influence of associated labor in the SFRY Assembly, but of its influence in the delegate system in general, in assemblies at all levels, from the commune to the federation. The problem lies in how to overcome a relationship in which decisions on the allocation and the volume of the major part of income and social reproduction are made outside associated labor, most frequently with a formal endorsement by associated labor decisions.

Bakocevic: Expanding the group of questions decided by consensus beyond the limits established by the Constitution decreases the efficiency of decisionmaking in the federation to a great extent. Where do you see the basic reasons for such a practice?

Djuranovic: There is much misunderstanding in practice and also in theory about decisionmaking by consensus in the federation, and therefore I think that critical analysis of the functioning of the political system should provide a complete and concrete answer on the implementation of that constitutional principle. It is true that there is a tendency to expand the group of questions decided by consensus, particularly when adopting so-called acts below the level of laws, or in executive practice. This tendency has led to the practice of turning the constitutional principle of cooperation between federal organs and republican and provincial ones, and the consultations on certain issues and on the competence on federal organs, into negotiations in which the lack of consent of one republic or autonomous province makes it impossible to draft a decree, which considerably jeopardizes the efficacy of decisionmaking at the federal level, especially when it comes to implementation. It is therefore indispensable to strictly obey the constitutional principle that decisions are made by consensus only in cases that have been precisely established by the SFRY Constitution.

This and other problems pertaining to the implementation of the principle of deciding by consensus should not, however, call into question the essence of the principle itself. Namely, it is a wrong practice and belief that by making decisions in this way we introduce the so-called veto principle into our system. What is actually involved here are two different categories, since, according to our Constitution, deciding by consensus -- as against a veto, which means blocking the decision -- does not imply that work on seeking an acceptable solution must stop. I am stressing this because the Constitution envisages the possibility of adopting provisional measures in case there is no agreement, either in the sphere of policy creation in the SFRY Assembly Chamber of Republics and Provinces or in the sphere of its implementation. The SFRY Constitution precisely states reasons for which one can turn to adopting a law on provisional measures. Provisional measures are a constitutional institution and they do not mean returning to centralism and statism, and one should not be wary of introducing them when necessary to prevent greater disturbances in the economy and society.

BIOGRAPHY OF INCOMING PRESIDENT VLAJKOVIC

LD131414 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1302 GMT 13 May 85

[Text] Belgrade, May 13 (TANJUG) -- The Seventh Presidency of Yugoslavia President Radovan Vlajkovic (63), to take office on May 15th for a one-year term, is a World War Two combatant, prominent official, and the province of Vojvodina representative in the Yugoslav State Presidiency. He is of Serbian nationality.

Vlajkovic was an active participant in the national liberation struggle of Yugoslavia and is a bearer of the 1941 partisian commemoration medal -- awarded to the Yugoslavs who resisted the Nazi-fascist occupation from the beginning. He joined the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1943.

After the liberation, he held responsible posts in the Province of Vojvodina and in the federation. He was a party and trade union official and for many years a deputy of the Vojvodina provincial and the federal assemblies.

Vlajkovic was Presidency of Vojvodina president for seven years before elected to the Presidency of Yugoslavia. As a member of the Yugoslav state Presidency and its vice-president for the past year, Vlajkovic had a number of meetings with foreign statesmen. He led the Yugoslav state delegations on visits to Bangladesh, Nepal, India, Venezuela and Romania.

Radovan Ulajkovic is married, has two children, a son surgeon and a daughter a chemistry graduate. Hunting is his hobby.

NUMBER OF WORK STOPPAGES HIGHEST IN 5 YEARS

LD121302 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1107 GMT 12 May 85

[Text] Belgrade, May 12 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav workers staged 384 work stoppages last year over personal incomes, usurpation of workers' rights and disturbed inter-personal relationships, show statistics compiled by the Yugoslav trade union organization. The number of work stoppages last year was 14.3 percent above the figure recorded in 1983, and the highest in the last five years. In the first quarter of this year, workers stopped work 122 times.

Although data on the number of participants is incomplete, it is estimated at slightly over 29,000, or two percent of the employed in the public sector. Most of the stoppages were in the Republic of Slovenia (100), followed by Macedonia (90), Croatia (84), Serbia excluding its two autonomous provinces (57), Bosnia-Hercegovina (28), the Province of Vojvodina (10) and the Province of Kosovo (8). Workers in the Republic of Montenegro staged only seven stoppages.

Virtually all the stoppages were in material production, and were very rare in the non-economic, health and science sectors.

Analyses show that the majority of stoppages (312) were caused by dissatisfaction with personal incomes. According to data collected by the trade union organization, the stoppages were not aimed against the system of socialist self-management. On the contrary, they were staged only when self-management was violated.

SERBIA LC COMMISSION DISCUSSES NATIONALISM

LD132241 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1223 GMT 13 May 85

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 13 May (TANJUG) -- The national question of our peoples and our nationalities can be tackled only in conditions of socialism, self-management, and a democratic federation which are the sole real guarantee of their equality. As far as the Serbian people are concerned, it was Svetozar Markovic [founder of Serbian socialism, 1946-1975] who wrote that the question of their unity and development can be solved only in a federation. Any disturbance of federal relations leading to bureaucratic centralism or unitarism or to disintegration between the republic and the provinces or even within the republic on the basis of the consolidation of particularist or separatist forces calls into question the unity and development of the Serbian nation and all the other nations and nationalities in the republic and the country.

These were the words with which Zika Radojlovic, chairman of the Commission for Intranational Relations of the Serbian LC Central Committee described the approach to these problems when he opened today's conference on "The Serbian LC in the realization of national equality in the struggle against nationalism." The conference was organized by the Commission for Intranational Relations of the Serbian LC Central Committee and the Marxist Center of the Serbian LC Central Committee and was attended by over 50 eminent scientists and sociopolitical workers in the republic, all of them best qualified to discuss these problems and all of them deeply concerned with them.

Radojlovic stressed that one of the most important tasks in this sphere is to analyse the causes of opportunism and the ways of eliminating opportunism, which most often manifests itself in the form of the attitude according to which "there is no nationalism among us, it exists among others." The LCY has always striven to encourage communists to pursue the kind of activity against nationalism in which, for instance, Serbian Communists are most resolutely opposed to Serbian nationalism and Albanian ones to Albanian nationalism and irredentism, bearing in mind in this connection the fundamental duty of all Yugoslav Communists always and everywhere to be opposed to all forms of nationalism. It is well known that in their anti-Yugoslav attitude and their opposition to self-management they incite one another and even maintain mutual links and they can be successfully opposed only with Marxist consistency and the unity of views and action of the LCY.

Pointing out the concrete forms in which nationalism manifests itself, Radojlovic, said that efforts are being made to find ideological justification for the domination of the bureaucratic view of the nation and for the statist way of managing the economy and society through the concept of a closed national economy. Ideas taken from this quasiscientific sphere are given a kind of political and ideological "finish" for public circulation, and influence views on history and social awareness in the form of political pamphlets or revive teaching on the protolanguage, alleged racial purity, sacrifice, tragedy, and reconciliation....

It is necessary to have a deeper grasp of these phenomena. Thus, for instance, the frequently voiced thesis according to which nationalism is dead or is something that people inherit make it more difficult to see the truth. It is also necessary to have a closer look at the question of the social exponents of nationalism, because more and more often one bears views according to which this is something for politicians and intellectuals to decide, an attitude which inevitably restricts the front of struggle against nationalism.

Radojlovic drew particular attention to the processes of national-centralist migrations which threaten national equality and can provide the basis for the most diverse forms of nationalism, and said that members of individual nations and nationalities are migrating and moving closer to their "national centers." The causes of this are diverse, ranging from the purely economic ones (such as in Sjenica and Novi Pazar), to the combined effects of economic factors and political pressures (such as in Presevo and Bujanovac) and overwhelming coercion and political pressures, as in Kosovo. Replies should be more speedily found to questions on the general causes of these phenomena and ways should be found to eradicate them through united activity at the republican and national levels.

The roots of nationalism cannot be sought solely and primarily in the ideological sphere, Dusan Icevic stressed in his introductory report. The mainstay of nationalism is to be found in the contradictions of socialist development itself; through its renewed and mass effort in our country it is trying to fill in the gap left by the contradictions between self-management and statism. In a nation organized as a complex and class community nationalism becomes an instrument of specific social groups whose desire is to seize control of the nation.

The nation has become a widespread criterion of value and a trade mark of all interests and activities, though, in fact it is not an opaque monolith but is internally diversified in terms of class and society and represents no more than socially and historically changing and transitory forms of living together.

The nationalists recognize only the right of the "leading" majority nation or nationality, to which they assign all the state-political attributes, while for the members of the other peoples they want to restore the status of national minorities with restricted rights.

At the end of his report Icevic said that any criticism which does not go below the surface of the political system and fails to recognize or name the effective exponents of the technobureaucratic monopoly as the basic creators and "producers" of nationalism is insufficient. In fact, in our country nationalism would not have such destructive power and such a capacity for revival and growth if it did not find support and shelter in state-political structures and even at the top levels of the LC. Nationalists would not be so persistent if they did not enjoy the support or were viewed with an attitude of tacit approval by political officials. For instance, during the so-called mass movement [in Croatia in the early seventies] and in conditions of greater-Albanian nationalism and irredentism even the highest party officials were in league with or favorably inclined toward nationalism. In the desire to be national leaders individuals do not hesitate to exploit nationalism in order to prevail in their own nation and to be the equal or dominant partners of similar national "top men."

Speaking critically about the so-called national economies, Caslav Ocic said that we have no strategy for the development of the country but six or eight individual strategies.

Ismailj Rajra pointed out that those who minimized the pressures exerted on the Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo to make them emigrate and those who deny or ignore the positive results achieved in suppressing such pressures might often be extending help, wittingly or unwittingly, to efforts to encourage emigration. Thanks to the Kosovo Communists and the whole of Yugoslavia, he stressed, the process of emigration is abating and diminishing and those who have emigrated are tending to return. The numbers of those returning to the province and those leaving it have been nearly the same over the past 2 years.

Milenko Markovic said that national and republican statehood can and should not be denied "en masse." What is wanted is to find a rational degree of statehood which should not be equated with statism. Markovic spoke at length about the constitutional position of the Socialist Republic of Serbia as a state and the autonomous provinces within it, which led to a subsequent discussion at quite an abstract and on the whole familiar level with Kurtes Salihu and Ismailj Bajra. There were also differences over the threat from the two opposite forms of nationalism -- unitarist and separatist -- but nevertheless the conclusion drawn was a joint one, that neither form should be ignored and that the amount of attention paid to them should be proportionate to the intensity with which they manifest themselves.

Dragoljub Radojcic, Milivoje Tatic, and Miroslav Djordjevic also took part in the discussion.